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26 AUGUST 1986

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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AGRICULTURE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WINTER RAPE CROP: CULTIVATION, CROP PROTECTION MEASURES CITED

Moscow/East Berlin INTERNATIONALE ZEITSCHRIFT DER LANDWIRTSCHAFT in German
No 3, 1986 pp 254-8

[Article by Prof Dr of Science Norbert Makowski and Prof Dr Arno Winkel of the
Guelzow Institute for Plant Culture of the GDR Academy of the Agricultural
Sciences: "Winter Rape in the GDR"]

[Text] Winter rape is the most important oil plant in the GDR. Approximately
150,000 hectares are cultivated annually. The primary objective of winter
rape production is the supply of high quality raw material for the oil and
margarine industry. The average proportion of rape fat in margarine currently
stands at 40 percent and in cooking oil at 60 percent. This underscores the
prime significance of rape as a raw material for human nutrition. Rape
extraction grist, with a 40-percent raw protein content, constitutes a
significant protein rich fodder source for livestock production.

To meet the goals established by the 10th SED Party Congress for demand-based
supplying of the population with high quality vegetable fats, LPG and VEG
[state-owned farm] plant production yields must be further increased and
stabilized in view of the changed situation on the world market.

In the choice of locations for winter rape, its high requirements for an
adequate water supply are the primary consideration. These requirements are
best met in the northern districts of the GDR. To maximize potential yields
care is needed in soil preparation in these locations. Good production
conditions for winter rape are also found in piedmont locations. Rape thrives
best on soils with good structure, adequately supplied with nutrients, and,
especially, unaffected by waterlogging.

Varieties. The application of progress in breeding is a fundamental element
in the intensification of rape production. While in previous years the Sollux
variety which contains erucic acid was grown exclusively, the conversion to
quality rape has been gradually introduced since the 1981 planting.
Currently, quality rape's share in total rape in cultivation is approximately
50 percent. The new GDR quality varieties of Marinus and Malux have the same
yield potential as the Sollux variety. In practical cultivation, however,
their more rapid growth in fall, their more limited rigidity, and their higher
susceptibility to the phoma lingam pathogen must be taken into consideration.

Proper coordination of winter rape into crop rotation is a crucial prerequisite for long-term stable rape production. This is essentially determined by the time of clearing the previous crop from the field and by phytosanitary considerations. The preferred cultivation of rape following grain also offers additional intensification measures which benefit the previous crop (soil preparation, control of weeds and intergrowth, nitrogen fertilization) (Table 1).

Table 1. Suitability of Previous Crop to Winter Rape Cultivation (Winter Rape Production Procedures 1980, agra-Buch)

Previous crop suitability

<u>Very good</u>	<u>Good</u> (with quick clearing of the field and additional measures)	<u>Unfavorable</u>
Clover, Lucerne clover	Winter barley	Oats
Vetch	Summer barley (early varieties)	Summer barley (late varieties)
Field forage mixture	Winter rye	
Early potatoes, peas	Winter wheat (early varieties)	Winter wheat (late varieties)

From a phytosanitary standpoint three harmful pathogens found in crop rotation must be considered:

The club root pathogen (*plasmodiophora brassicae* wor.) is widespread. In heavy infestations it leads to high losses. No rape should be cultivated on affected land for at least 5 years.

"Halsnekrose" [phoma disease], a new "crop rotation disease" in the GDR, is increasingly dangerous for rape. The infestation first becomes obvious in the second half of July. Heavily infested plants die prematurely and thus cause considerable loss of yield.

The beet nematode (*heterodera schachtii* schm.) poses no danger to rape itself. However, because rape contributes as a host plant to the propagation of the nematode, breaks of at least 3 years between cultivation of rape and beets are required to insure high beet yields.

Short cultivation breaks also favor animal pests which overwinter in rape fields, such as the cabbage pod fly (*desyneura brassicae*) and the large rape stem weevil (*ceuthorrhynchus napi*), but also rape pests which spend their winters and summers in the vicinity of the rape fields of the year before.

For effective reduction of the harmful pathogen population and damage to the host, a minimum cultivation break between rape and all crucifers, including cruciferous catch crops such as beta beets, is necessary. That means the total of rape, other crucifers, cruciferous catch crops, and beta beets must not exceed 25 percent in the crop rotation.

Soil preparation and seedbed preparation. The goal of soil preparation is a weed-free, well broken down, and fine crumbly seedbed.

Plowing after the previous rotation of grain should immediately follow the clearing away of the straw. It fulfills the following purposes: improvement of soil structure, maintenance of soil moisture, creation of germination conditions for weeds and dropped grain, elimination of root weeds, and incorporation of harvest residue.

Stubble treatment. It is an integral part of stubble plowing and is an essential prerequisite for quality plowing for sowing. Harrowing once or twice at an angle to the direction of the furrows has proven to be worthwhile.

Plowing for sowing. The prerequisites for a proper seedbed and optimum plant development are created through plowing for sowing. It should occur approximately 14 days before sowing and not be deeper than 25 cm.

Seedbed preparation. This must be carried out in such a way that a quality seedbed can be established quickly. Equipment combinations are preferable.

Specific location or fundamental conditions determine the frequency of the operations as well as the equipment combinations.

Sowing. Respecting the optimum sowing date is of crucial significance for the size of the yield. Depending on location, sowing should take place between the middle and the end of August in the GDR.

Amount of seed. Under normal conditions from 60 to 80 viable grains should be sown per square meter at a depth of from 1 to 2 cm. The use of pressure rollers favors the even germination of the rape and gives the rape an advantage over weeds.

The handling of the seed is currently limited to coating it for control of the rape ground flea (*psyllioides chrysocephala* L.) and the cabbage gall weevil (*ceuthorrhynchus pleurostigma* mrsh.) according to the recommendations of the state plant protection institution.

Row width and access and equipment path principle. The varied resources for the cultivation procedures to be carried out form the basis for the choice of row width.

Wide row

Row width > 30 cm
to 45 cm

Narrow row

Row width < 30 cm
but not < 20 cm

Cultivation procedure

Drag hoe
Herbicide

(Harrow)
Herbicide

Because drag hoeing is the most efficient cultivation procedure, in the greater portion of cultivation plans the choice will be "row widths of from 30 to 45 cm with cultivation by hoe." Row widths of less than 30 cm are to be used in fields where the use of hoeing equipment is ruled out, as well as in those places where the labor resources of the farm are not sufficient for cultivation by hoe.

Based on technological and labor economics grounds it is advisable in narrow row cultivation to choose a row width double that used with grains. In wide row cultivation the width of the row is dependent upon the available hoeing technology. Independently of row width, the application of the access and equipment path principle is strongly advised. There are unplowed lanes in the layout which serve as means of access. This requires that the access path widths and the work areas be coordinated.

Advantages:

- avoidance of damage by running over plants
- better performance and elimination of errors during fertilization, cultivation, and plant protection procedures
- improved working conditions for the equipment operators.

Cultivation. After the improvement of the physical characteristics of the soil, the control of weeds and grain intergrowth as competitors for light, water, and nutrients is the most important objective of cultivation procedures.

The dominant weeds in winter rape are: chickweed (*stellaria media* (L.) vill.), camomiles (*anthemis*), burdock (*galium aparine* L.) and grain intergrowth.

Hoeing in the fall and spring is the most effective mechanical cultivation procedure (Table 2). It cannot be replaced by any other mechanical cultivation procedure. Harrowing leads to a reduction in the concentration of plants and to plant injuries, which favor infestation by the pathogen of "Halsnekrose" [phoma]. For these reasons the use of harrows in spring must be limited to exceptional cases. The use of plant protective agents depends on temporal variations and we have collected the relevant indications for use of plant protective agents. The herbicides authorized for rape cultivation in

the GDR are of the pre-planting, pre-germination, and post-germination types (Table 3). The herbicidal level which can be anticipated must be assessed in connection with the rotation of crops and the relevant situation. Only then can the decision be made to use herbicides. The pre-planting and pre-germination herbicides are superior to the post-germination herbicides in their weed killing effect.

In any case, in the use of herbicides the instructions for use, the conditions for use, and the timing must be unconditionally respected.

Table 2. Effect of Mechanical Cultivation on Yield

<u>Procedure</u>	<u>Yield (relative)</u>
None	100
Fall hoeing	108
Spring hoeing	112
Fall and spring hoeing	118
Harrowing in spring	85

Fertilization. The bases for decisions regarding the amount of fertilizer applied as well as the fertilizer forms, schedule, and procedures are the field-specific recommendations from the GDR computerized fertilization project. The data derivable from it, with knowledgeable implementation of the input, guarantees effective use of organic and mineral fertilizers (macro- and micro-nutrients). In the process, issues of assuring the reproduction of soil fertility and environmental protection must be considered.

Barnyard fertilizer should be used primarily in edge locations and on parts of the field with limited soil quality within larger field units. The time available for application is the limiting factor here.

Liquid manure can be spread over the grain stubble. The amounts should be from 30 to a maximum of 50 kg per N-mineral fertilizer equivalent (MDA). Liquid manure applied in the fall has an MDA of from 30 to 40 percent. In addition, liquid manure fertilization can be carried out in rape fields in the snowfree winter months and in the spring. Liquid manure fertilization must be halted at the time of emergence. In the winter and spring applications, an N-MDA of 60 percent is recommended. The liquid manure N-amounts must be taken into consideration during the strategic determination of the amounts of N-mineral fertilizer to be used. Fertilization of rape with liquid manure (mobile application) depends on the practicability of the fields for vehicles. It is therefore not possible every year.

Table 3. Available Herbicides for Winter Rape

<u>Herbicide</u>	<u>Quantity/ hectare</u>	<u>Spectrum of activity</u>	<u>Comments</u>
a) Pre-planting herbicides			
Bi 3411-New	20-15 l	annual grasses and grain intergrowth	work in immediately
NaTa	15-20 kg	annual grasses and grain intergrowth	work in immediately
b) Pre-germination herbicides			
Trazalex	6-8 kg	annual weeds	
Trazalex-Extra	4-4.5 kg	annual weeds	
Tank mixture			
Trizilin	6-8 l +	annual weeds	
plus Yrodazin	0.2-0.3 kg	(camomile, chickweed, wind straw)	
Simazin	0.32-0.48 kg	annual weeds	
50 % wettable powder		(camomile, chickweed, wind straw)	
c) Post-germination herbicides			
SYS 67 Omnidel	2 kg	grain intergrowth	from 2 leaves to end of September
Creospur	2 l	burdock specific	from beginning of vegetation to 30 cm height of rape
Yrodazin	0.2-0.3 kg	annual weeds (camomile, chickweed, wind straw)	from seed leaves to 2-leaf stage of rape
Simazin	0.32-0.48 kg	annual weeds (camomile, chickweed, wind straw)	from seed leaves to 2-leaf stage of rape
50 % wettable powder			
Trazalex	6 kg	annual weeds	from rape 4-leaf stage to mid-October
Trazalex-Extra	4 kg	annual weeds	from rape 4-leaf stage to mid-October
Tank mixture			
SYS 67 Omnidel	2 kg +	annual weeds	after complete plus
Yrodazin	0.2-0.3 kg	grain intergrowth	formation of 2 rape leaves
Tank mixture			
SYS 67 Omnidel	2 kg +	annual weeds	after complete
plus Simazin	0.32-0.48 kg	including grain intergrowth	formation of 2 rape leaves
50 % wettable powder			
Creospur	1 l +	dicotyledonous weeds	from beginning of plus
Trizilin	4 l	burdock specific	vegetation to 20 cm height of rape

Ca-, P-, K-, and Mg-Fertilization

Liming is performed only when a need for it is shown in the fertilization recommendations. In this process the amount of lime applied since the last soil test must be taken into account. In the interest of a better nutrient dynamic, a so-called "crop rotational liming for rape" on fields with a pH-supply level I must absolutely cease.

Because of the large growth of rape, the soil must be provided with an adequate supply of the macronutrients of phosphorus, potassium, and magnesium. For every 10 decitons [1 deciton = 100 kg] of rape seed produced, an average withdrawal of 11 kg of phosphorus, 40 kg of potassium, and 5 kg of magnesium per hectare must be reckoned with. For the precise implementation of the P-, K-, and Mg-fertilization recommendations the actual details about the planned rape yield therefore take on a special significance in the collection of data. All commercially available P-, K-, and Mg-fertilizers are suitable for rape fertilization.

Micronutrient fertilization. Rape is one of the boron-, molybdenum-, and manganese-intensive crops, i.e., crops which place high demands on the supply of these micronutrients (Table 4). The availability of the nutrients is dependent on the soil's pH-value--the boron supply is hindered by exceeding the optimum soil pH-value, whereas the molybdenum supply is hindered by falling short of it (acidic soil).

Table 4. Micronutrient Fertilizer Forms and Application Amounts

<u>Fertilizer form</u>	<u>Micronutrient content in %</u>	<u>Application amount kg/ha</u>
Boron		
B-superphosphate	0.3	500-700
Borax (foliar feeding)	11.3	3-5
Molybdenum		
Mo-superphosphate	0.2	500
Ammonium molybdate (soil feeding)	54.4	2
Ammonium molybdate (foliar feeding)	54.4	0.6
Manganese		
Mn-sulfate (foliar feeding)	27.0	8.0

Boron and/or molybdenum fertilization should be used on the fields indicated by the fertilization recommendation primarily as soil fertilizers and applied in combination with superphosphate. The time of fertilization is determined according to the opportunity to carry out the P-fertilization. The Mn-

fertilization is performed exclusively as foliar fertilization (1 percent solution) from the time of emergence until flower buds become visible on the lateral shoots.

N-fertilization. Adequate availability of nutrients including nitrogen in all stages of development is crucial to the yield of winter rape.

In the fall in the crop rotation pattern following grain, as a rule 30 kg/ha of nitrogen should be applied to the stubble. With this, additional yields of from 1.5 to 2.0 decitons per hectare can be achieved.

In the spring at the beginning of the vegetation period, the N-reserve in the soil is often quite low because of the strong prewinter growth of the rape. The post-winter requirement of nitrogen recommended to produce higher and more stable rape yield lies between 220 and 250 kg/ha. This consists of a combination of the "soil nitrogen" and the amounts of nitrogen added in organic and mineral fertilizers. In the computerized fertilization project, nitrogen fertilization optimums for the various soil groups are derived ranging from 210 to 250 kg/ha, which are converted into even more greatly differentiated N-fertilization recommendations through additions and deletions under consideration of other influential variables.

Through fall and spring assessments, the crop's development is taken into consideration for determining the field-specific N-fertilization prescription. Since 1985 the N_{an} content (Footnote) (N_{an} = mineral nitrogen available to plants) in the soil has been used as a criterion for measuring the amount of nitrogen to add. From a technological standpoint, making two applications is advantageous for the efficacy of the fertilization; this is true especially for the quality rape varieties. This division affords an opportunity to adjust the level of N-fertilization to the development of the crop even better with the second application in order to better coordinate the targeted crop development to the requirement.

Combating Animal Pests

Winter rape is one of the crops whose potential yield can be greatly impaired by animal pests. Through a high expenditure of monitoring labor and a good organization of the use of technology it is possible to greatly limit the damage. In the fall a massive infestation of the rape ground flea (*psylliodes chrysocephala*) can lead to a very strong reduction in the capacity to withstand the winter. Success in combating this is not satisfactory with currently available insecticides. Preventive coating of the seed is therefore necessary each year under our conditions. In spite of these measures, damage can, however, not be ruled out. In early spring the large rape stem weevil (*ceuthorrhynchus napi*) appears increasingly heavily. Through careful observation and specific control measures the possible damage is avoidable. A very dangerous pest in the GDR is the shiny rape beetle [U.S. name: pollen beetle] (*meligethes aenus*). The damage is closely related to the condition of the plant at the time of infestation and to the continued development of the plant. Control must therefore always be carried out relative to these factors (Table 5). The appearance of the cabbage pod weevil (*ceuthorrhynchus*

assimileis) and the cabbage pod fly (*desyneura brassicae*) must also absolutely be watched for because if they are not combated considerable damage can occur.

The other animal pests not mentioned here occur less frequently and the damage is less.

Table 5. Standard Values for Combating the Shiny Rape Beetle Relative to Time of Infestation and Plant Development

			<u>Plant weakened,</u> <u>expected period</u> <u>of going to seed</u>				<u>Plant healthy and</u> <u>growing well, expected</u> <u>period of going to seed</u>			
			Tall		Short		Tall		Short	
			Early	Late	Early	Late	Early	Late	Early	Late
B E E T L E S	During small bud stage	Early	2	2	2	2	4	4	3	6
		Late	2	2	2	4	6	6	8	8
	During large bud stage	Early	4	4	4	6	6	6	8	8
		Late	4	4	6	6	8	8	8	8

Harvesting. Combine threshing is the best harvesting process for winter rape. Only in exceptional cases, with very high weed infestation and exceptionally low crop concentration, when the danger of wind deflection exists, is there any justification for swath harvesting or is addition of a siccative necessary.

To increase the output of the threshing and the quality of the raw product as well as to reduce losses during harvesting, especially the loss attributed to the cutting mechanism, which is still very high, the following measures are necessary:

-Begin combine threshing only when the proportion of immature seeds (oil seed mixture) is less than 3 percent. The best method for discerning the level of ripeness is trial threshing combined with a laboratory test.

-Use of the combine thresher with consideration for the nature of the product being harvested. Consequently, adjustment values must also be corrected during the course of the day with changing threshing conditions (Table 6).

-Leaning crops must be reaped in one direction in the direction which they are leaning or at an angle to the direction which they are leaning; otherwise high losses occur (Table 7).

-The use of a pickup reel is to be avoided if a problem-free and continuous flow of the product to be threshed is possible without the assistance of the reel; otherwise the least possible dipping depth for the reel and adjustment of the teeth to "strong grip" along with coordination of running speed and circumferential speed of the reel are recommended.

Table 6. Optimum Combine Settings for Various Moisture Levels of the Harvested Product

<u>Harvested product</u>	<u>Drum speed</u>	<u>Grain receptacle setting</u> <u>In/Out</u>	<u>Top sieve opening</u>	<u>Lower sieve opening</u>	<u>Fan setting</u>
	<u>rpm</u>	<u>mm</u>	<u>mm</u>	<u>mm</u>	<u>1 to 6</u>
Damp	800	24...16	5	4.5...6	2.5
Average	700	29...19	6	4.5...6	3
Dry	600	30...22	7	4.5...6	3

Table 7. Effect of the Harvesting Direction Relative to the Direction of Lean on the Level of Loss Attributed to the Cutting Mechanism (1977 and 1978 test results)

<u>Variation</u>	<u>Loss in decitons/ha</u>
1. cutting in the direction of lean	1.6
2. cutting against the direction of lean	2.0
3. cutting perpendicular to lean (leaning direction of the crop)	2.3

Summary. The natural geographic conditions in the GDR, especially in the North with the influence of the sea, offer favorable prerequisites for high and stable rape yields. On approximately 50 percent of the land devoted to rape erucic-acid-free quality varieties are cultivated. The yield potential of the new varieties fully corresponds to that of conventional varieties.

The size of the rape yield is substantially determined by its order in crop rotation and through utilization of specific agrotechnology and optimized harvesting.

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ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INDUSTRIAL APPLICATION OF MICROELECTRONICS OUTLINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 6, Jun 86 (signed to press
13 May 86) pp 513-519

[Article by Prof Dr Gerhard Merkel, deputy general director of the VEB Robotron Combine, member of the GDR research council: "Microelectronics-- a Challenge for Every Combine"]

[Text] The 11th SED Party Congress has set clear-cut goals for the further development and application of microelectronics. To implement it with great energy--that was already discussed at the Party Congress. Meanwhile many collectives have added new competitive obligations to the duties expressed there regarding concrete, demanding performance goals.

We have solid foundations for fulfilling the tasks given us, since we have achieved remarkable things in our country in past years through the far-sighted leadership activity of the Central Committee and its general secretary in the development and application of microelectronics. Today, we are one of the few countries in the world which possess the potential for the development and production of highly and highest integrated switching circuits and are in a position to manufacture selected primary materials and their pertinent technological special equipment. In years of hard work and creative search, knowledge and experience in the field of microelectronics was gained in numerous combines, so that today we can rely on a base of special knowledge achieved by thousands of workers, particularly young people. If one also adds the generally high educational level of the workers of our republic, that is a foundation which justifies our high expectations.

It is now a matter of enforcing in every combine efforts to use the potential effects of the application of microelectronics determinedly, immediately and unrelentingly. Primarily we must make even better use of existing possibilities in the production of switching circuits. This concerns mastery of design and technology as well as higher exploitation and lower costs. At the same time it is necessary to speed up the development of new design and production technologies as well as the expansion of production capacities. "It is a matter of even better utilization of existing technologies and preparing the step to higher stages, in which we gear ourselves to the present and foreseeable international level." (Footnote 1) (Report by the Central Committee of the

Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the 11th SED Party Congress; reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker, Dietz Publishing Company, Berlin 1986, p 28)

To dedicate ourselves to this task with commitment is of great importance for society because, to a high degree, it is microelectronics which characterizes the new stage of the scientific-technical revolution. In the entire industry it makes possible and effects a profound, a revolutionary change of products as well as their manufacturing processes.

In recent years, matters of microelectronics have significantly gained in importance in the understanding of our society, fostered by an ever increasing number of people dealing with robots and numerically controlled machine tools, but also by ticket and money automats down to pocket calculators. Just as the political-ideological work of our Party has helped deepen this understanding, it is called upon in future to progress on a broad basis to a new quality of activating knowledge and to push toward concrete results with regard to the application of microelectronics in all areas and at hundreds of thousands of work places. Experience from everyday life as well as consultations with managers at the various levels of our economy make clear how important it is for our continued progress to fully utilize the economic and over-all societal effects of presently available microelectronics, to open our eyes to its further development with all its consequences for almost all areas of life, and finally--and so much depends on that in our economy today--to show in detail which tasks must be solved in the phase that has just begun.

Production of active electronic semi-conductor components increased to 385 percent in 1985, as compared to 1980, and will grow to 1,230 percent by 1990.

Compared to production in 1980, production in 1985 increased (in percent):
--of monolithic integrated switching circuits to 630;
--of optic-electronic components to 690.

Microelectronics become effective through application. Their major fields of application rest on their capacity to make available means of processing, storing, transporting and presenting information in a very effective way. Today, we have sufficient experience in the use of microelectronics in stored-program control of production means, in automatization installations, and in computer technology, even personal computers. Even these possibilities of application indicate how this technology eases man's burden by assuming parts of his activity. A plant using it, for example, can save considerable amounts of working time through a personnel or job computer and can additionally attain cost advantages. Despite all imprecisions in such costing, one can say, for instance: compared to working hours, the expenditure of producing a personnel or job computer, including all preparatory stages, at its application has an effect of 1:4. In accordance with our goal of developing all reserves for increasing work productivity, every combine is called upon to contribute as much as possible so that such a possibility becomes reality.

In the search for the most effective use of microelectronics, combines and factories give much thought to finding the most favorable way in the long term, and not just to calculate the "advantage of the day." It has proven important not to consider specific tasks, for instance for robots, CAD/CAM systems, and personnel computers, as simply individual, momentarily relevant actions, but to grasp the context and logical consequence underlying the total process of applying microelectronics, although these contexts are indeed not simple and are not totally clear yet at this time. There are no limits in sight for the application of microelectronics; we are at the beginning of a long road. Foreseeably, in the next 10 years also, the switching circuit base will continue to develop at a rapid pace on the international level. Technology will continue to proceed ahead of the possibilities of application. Microelectronics has opened the way to deal with information on economic activity in a fundamental way. While we concern ourselves ever more intensively with its varied applicability in data processing, storing and transfer, our understanding of the nature of these processes grows; and in turn, scientific work in this field leads to new insights as to its application.

To fully utilize the potential of microelectronics, to combine its application even more closely with the advantages of socialism, is a broad program with a paramount place in the economic strategy of our Party. It reaches from the demanding over-all social goal-setting to the responsibility which the combines bear as catalysts of scientific-technical progress for the development and application of microelectronics. This concerns all combines.

There are three work directions of primary importance:

- development of base technologies and equipment as well as materials and auxiliary materials and, based on them, production of the components;
- application of microelectronics in the products of user industries;
- application of microelectronics to intensify work processes.

Base Technologies and Production of Components

It is our goal to develop, at a faster pace, the microelectronics industry in the GDR in close cooperation with the USSR, and to fill the major requirements for components and switching circuits from our own production. Responsible for the development are primarily the combines Microelectronics and Carl Zeiss JENA.

The targets for standards, assortment and extent of production are laid down in the directive of the 11th SED Party Congress on the 5-year plan for the development of the economy during the years 1986 to 1990. In preparation for the 11th Party Congress, VEB Carl Zeiss JENA has set high standards for itself and for all other combines participating in the microelectronics program in its letter to the secretary general of the SED Central Committee. The assurance that the equipment produced in 1985 is capable of manufacturing 1-megabyte switching circuits means that in this

field, advanced international standing has been reached. The target, to have equipment ready for the production of 4-megabyte storer switching circuits at the beginning of the 1990's, is a challenge to the developers of the relevant base technology. As for the manufacturing process of the new switching circuits, Comrade Ingrid Koerner of the VEB Center for Microelectronic Research and Technology of Dresden explained in her contribution to the discussion at the 11th Party Congress that the 64-kilobyte storer switching circuit is completely mastered in production, and that the 1-megabyte storer will already go into mass production during the period of this 5-year plan. This means accomplishing in 4 years what is expected to take 6 years, internationally. The determined battle to be waged in taking on and maintaining such a pace, must also be expanded to increased exploitation in the interest of high economic effects. Success will not elude us if the impetus spreads to all the collectives which will have to develop base technologies, new designs for switching circuits, equipment, materials and auxiliary materials.

The directive on the 5-year plan also points the way to how the division of labor is to be set up in order to attain the highest possible results in the development and production of switching circuits and other components. It is based on utilizing the possibilities offered by our socialist planned economy to guarantee an efficient division of labor and effective cooperation between the combines producing the components and the major users of the components. This means in concrete terms that the combines Micro-electronics Erfurt, Carl Zeiss JENA, Ceramic Works Hermsdorf, and Electronic Components Teltow are fully responsible for developing the technologies and establishing the balance sheets for output and distribution of components--including the necessary equipment as well as base and auxiliary materials. The major public consumers of micro-electronics are responsible for developing in their combines their own capacities for a defined share of the production. This concerns primarily circuit boards, customer-specific switching circuits, and hybrid components. This is to enable the users to raise the quality of their end products to a top level through the application of microelectronics, to master the entire reproduction process at its present speed, and to further increase their capability of responding to market requirements. To build up production means appropriate to demands succeeds especially if CAD/CAM solutions are steadily implemented. They create the prerequisite for attaining international standards.

Customer-specific switching circuits are made in three types: as customer switching circuits, i.e., the user develops the design completely on his own according to rules inherent in the technology and has complete freedom in the design; as standard cell switching circuits, i.e., the user makes up his own design, but uses proven functional groups and cells predetermined by the manufacturer; and finally, as switching circuits which are supplied to the user as a basic structure, so that the user has the task of adapting it to his circuit requirements by means of one or more additional wiring circuits. Economic criteria primarily decide the choice of type.

Customer-specific switching circuits are to be developed and produced by the Microelectronics combine in conjunction with the users. The initiative, however, must come from the user. He designs the circuit, selects the implementation type, and is responsible for the economic result. This latter factor makes it necessary to find solutions in one's own production which not only fill the requirements of the respective customer, but are also economically effective. Since our socialist planned economy is not hampered by property restrictions, through cooperation with other users demand can become so high that the equipment, installed with considerable investment expenditures, can be utilized according to the normatives of full capacity. However, in the interest of high effectiveness, not every technology upgrading should be followed. Rather, in replacing equipment, the ratio of expenditure and result will have to be calculated precisely. And finally, it will be proper to maintain an adequate "time distance" from the original developer of the technology, so that mature technologies can be adopted.

Simultaneously with solving these material-technical problems, care must be taken that the necessary cadres are available in good time. The producer of switching circuits will have to have enough technology experts trained by the original developer of the technology so that he himself can ensure an engineering-type production control and servicing. One cannot point out often enough to what a high degree success in the application of microelectronics depends on having professional cadres available in one's own sector; their educational level, the managerial level and the qualifications of the workers determine how successful we are in translating the latest technology into high efficiency. (Footnote 2) (Compare, On preparing the 11th Party Congress of the SED, from the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, 10th session of the SED Central Committee, Dietz Publishing Company, East Berlin 1985, p 35)

In short: every combine needs a concept for the development and coverage of demand for microelectronics; a long-term implementation program with tasks for the original manufacturer and co-producers is required, in which continuing cooperation performances are to be agreed on, in addition to balancing equipment and materials, training of cadres and continuing transfer of know-how. And finally, one's own concept on investment, cadre availability and implementation is necessary.

It is also recommended to organize the production start-up step by step and to begin with the circuit design, whereby these designs initially are to be implemented by the original producer. Combines, today faced with the task of developing their own production of switching circuits, circuit boards or hybrid components, should always remember that they are embarking on a necessary and promising road, although not an easy one. They will do well, therefore, to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the experience of those in our country who have solved this task earlier.

Use of Microelectronics in Products

Applying microelectronics is a matter of using it in one's own products as well as for intensifying the work process and, through its economically effective use in both cases, to improve human working and living conditions at the same time. International comparison also shows that industrial enterprises are much quicker to utilize microelectronics in production control and guidance as well as for planning and management than to use it in new products. After the naturally electronics-oriented computing and communications technology, in our country it is the production of scientific equipment, machine tool manufacture, and some enterprises of the consumer goods and processing machines sector which show good progress in integrating microelectronics in their products. At the VEB combine Robotron, about 40 percent of working hours, 43 percent of rolled steel, and 34 percent of wrought copper products were saved in 1985 because of the use of microelectronics.

The production of electronic data processing installations ES 1055/1056 rose from 32 in 1980 to 140 in 1985; production of microcomputers rose from 3,095 to 33,505.

In the period 1986 to 1990,
160,000 - 170,000 office and personal computers,
1,900 - 1,950 small data processing installations,
600 - 670 electronic data processing installations will be produced.

In 1985, the major fields of application of electronic computer technology in industry (in percent) were:

Planning and drawing up balance sheets, accounting and statistics	40
Research and development, preparation of technical production	32
Guidance of production, supply and transport processes	28

Experience shows that first-time application of microelectronics in a product makes it possible to save up to 50 percent in materials and cost, and that the transition from one component generation to the next brings savings of approximately 20 percent and a simultaneous doubled performance increase in electronics. Therefore it is all the more important--the directive for the 5-year plan is compelling in this regard--to create in all combines effective groups for microelectronics. It has been proven that such a group becomes effective most rapidly when a concrete task of application must be solved (in contrast to production start-up of switching circuits, which requires a comprehensive concept). For this, the GDR has many resources available. For example, as the result of comprehensive cooperative work of several combines, there is an extensive assortment of electronic components available, which can work together according to uniform guidelines. If there is experience in the development of electronic functional units, it makes it easier to turn to one's own designs of customer switching circuits. It also proved effective to assign

such tasks particularly to young colleagues, even if they still have to acquire special knowledge about the development in microelectronics; almost all graduates of special engineering fields now have the necessary basic knowledge of the functions and operating methods of communications technology.

Use of Microelectronics to Intensify Work Processes

In applying microelectronics to the intensification of the work process, the main direction for the coming years and up to the turn of the millenium was determined by the work guidances on production automation and the strategy for CAD/CAM application. From that derives the task of equipping all working tools in all sectors with stored-program controls, linking up these installations through local networks, organizing centralized supervision and control, and combining this automatization solution with the processes of preparation, planning, control, and rendering of accounts of production on a general communications technology basis. This places high demands on the development of rationalization means in the combines, since this development in particular must ensure that--in the process of modernizing fixed assets--production installations, storage and transport equipment are provided with the necessary electronic guidance and control. To be able to live up to these demands, there is only one way: to create in all combines, within their own development of rationalization means, areas for microelectronics and software development, which can master these new tasks in the construction and production of rationalization means.

The demand, to apply microelectronics with the greatest effectiveness, also does not bypass smaller factories and production plants, especially combines managed by bezirks. The merger of these small enterprises with combines, or making them into combines, was undertaken not least of all with the goal of lowering the differences in production and productivity through the use of stronger technological potentials. In such combines, capacities for developing rationalization means still offer many possibilities for further development, especially with regard to the use of microelectronics. Engineering collectives of the Chamber of Technology, student work teams, and selected brigades from enterprises with high-performance development areas could find a suitable field of activity here, without freeing the combines from their obligations regarding performance increases in the development of rationalization means.

Microelectronics are used in a concentrated manner in automation projects which have already been implemented or are planned to begin operation during the current 5-year plan period, respectively. They are creating the basis for a highly effective, flexible production and for the transition to broad-based automation in our national economy. The economic goals which are thus achieved are: accelerated passage of products through production, combined with a lowering of stock and increased possibilities to react to demand; increased work productivity; lowering of basic assets, and improved quality.

The second most important thrust for the use of microelectronics consists in the application of CAD/CAM technology. In preparation for the 11th Party Congress, CAD/CAM solutions were introduced in all combines. This has created a good starting base for implementation of the task to put to use 85,000 to 90,000 CAD/CAM systems by 1990. This makes it clear that the application of microelectronics aims at considerably increasing effectiveness and quality, especially in those processes which are determinants for progress. Measured against present standards for the use of microelectronics, significantly greater progress is now possible since, according to the directive for the 5-year plan, combines will have several times more CAD/CAM technology available than originally anticipated. This also puts even more emphasis on questions of preparing the use of this technology and assuring its use to full capacity. Greatest care, consideration and persistence are needed in order to avoid even the smallest time delay. Every microelectronic "piece" must have the planned effect--and that requires intensive preparation of its use.

Every manager--whether in research, development, construction, project planning, or in the various areas of technology--must become acquainted with the best possible uses of the new technology and develop personal consequences for his field of activity. In order to achieve rapid processing of the work results from construction to production guidance, one must apply the most modern procedures to solve the respective tasks and utilize factory data banks. With the use of computer-assisted work, there exists the unique opportunity of making the most progressive work technologies usable for all. This means for many workers not only learning how to handle a computer, but also becoming well acquainted with the most progressive work methods in one's special field, and with production organization. This requires personal initiative in private studies and in organizing an exchange of experience. Continued education centers have the primary responsibility for transmitting relevant knowledge. Thus discussion of the best technologies of engineering work is no longer just a matter of good will, but it becomes a necessary component of project planning activity. In this context, much work needs to be done. Not to be underestimated, for example, is the required change in primary organization. This means adaptation of the entire organization of the reproduction process in factory or combine, respectively, to the necessary interlocking of communications technologies, which is determined by the broad use of central and job-related computer technology.

A great number of new questions and new demands arise with regard to the changing working conditions of people since, at all stages of effective use of the new technology, one must never lose sight of the fact that, simultaneously, it is to enrich the work of the person directly using it, to free him more and more from burdens and monotony. With the aid of the new technology, his leeway to be creative is to be expanded. CAD/CAM projects already prove that technology is developed, and software created for every job, in such a way that the employee does not have to concentrate primarily on servicing the computer or reacting to software demands, but rather on solving problems with computer assistance. Software must be geared to the user to such an extent that different, consecutive

tasks can be handled smoothly by the employee, without having to change to a new work technology.

We have the results of comprehensive work-scientific studies regarding the technical-organizational arrangement of jobs as well as the work regime with picture screens and keyboards, some of which are also standardized. In one's own production of rationalization means, valid regulations must be observed regarding the standards of technical means such as minimum picture frequency and graphics on the screens, admissible optical distances and angles, and optical relations with the surroundings. New questions of cooperation arise among workers jointly using a personal computer. Arranging working hours must help to ensure full use of the technology in several shifts and must be adjusted to the employees' interests. This means, among other things, that technologists and engineers must increasingly be included in shift work, just as many other employees. Further tasks accrue from procurement, development, administration and care of software; maintenance and repair of the new technology by one's own employees must be organized.

If, up to now, there were thousands of employees working with computers, there will be hundreds of thousands within a few years. Indeed, a revolutionary transformation is taking place, which must be accomplished according to plan by the work force in the interest of the work force. It is based primarily on the mastery of microelectronics.

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ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BIOTECHNOLOGY, PRODUCTION INCREASES LINKED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 6, Jun 86 (signed to press 13 May 86) pp 520-524

[Article by Prof Dr Rolf Schulze, director of biotechnology center at the Martin Luther University in Halle and Wittenberg: "Biotechnology--A Modern Productive Force"]

[Text] Comrade Erich Honecker, at the 11th SED Party Congress, gave comprehensive reasons for paying particular attention to those economic sectors which are decisive for the continuance of economic and social policy, and which determine the pace of growth. This means that we must master top technologies in even closer interlocking of science with production, and production with science, in order "to advance even better than before in top products on a broad basis, with the help of the latest scientific findings." (Footnote 1) (Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party to the 11th Party Congress of the SED, reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker, Dietz Publishing Company, East Berlin 1986, p 26) This is also a challenge to the key technology of biotechnology--the application of biological processes in industrial production and in industrially organized services.

In accordance with great prospects for the social use of biotechnology, its performances by 1990 will be increased threefold compared to 1985 through accelerated research and production. This significant growth is in accordance with the statement made at the 11th Party Congress that this key technology is becoming a decisive force of the chemical industry for high processing of its base materials and opens up broad opportunities for the entire economy. (Footnote 2) (Ibid., p 32) Thus it leads to new chemical products, in particular to biologically active substances, to procedures reducing environmental damage through recovery of raw materials, and to a more intensive waste water treatment including recovery of waste materials. In the foodstuffs industry, baking yeasts, beer and ethanol can be produced more effectively with the aid of biotechnology, and raw materials can be processed more effectively through the application of enzymes. Herbicides and growth regulators for agriculture can be produced biotechnologically. Agricultural raw materials and wastes can be better utilized. In the health field, biotechnology leads to modern production of medicines. All this makes clear what

revolutionizing effects the application of biotechnology has on the development of productive forces.

Close Interlocking of Science and Production

The development of biotechnology is based on the innovative achievements of modern biosciences. In biotechnology, bioscientific and scientific engineering results become the direct starting point of highly effective economic utilization. It requires highly developed microelectronics, measuring, guidance and equipment technology, and specific performance of machine and installation construction for the transfer to production. Development and transfer of this key technology, based on biological effectiveness principles, require a broad, interdisciplinary cooperation of natural, technical, and social sciences.

Materialization of the high effects of which biotechnology is capable depends decisively on the great sense of responsibility with which all questions of the transfer of new knowledge into production must be approached, in order to guarantee its system effectiveness. It is necessary to ensure its complex use and to always take care that the new solutions are "adapted" to existing technology so that, through its integration, existing technology attains a higher degree of effectiveness. At the same time, industry must make full use of all possibilities to include such new principles of effectiveness and work in its deliberations on perfecting the production structure, and to create methodically all preconditions regarding the required cadres, work organization, equipment, etc.

Technological renewal, efficiency of the production processes, and increasingly their preparation, become more and more central to the application of key technologies. The technological changes thus occurring make it necessary to increasingly supplement or replace, respectively, thermally activated material processing primarily used up to now with biochemical, electrochemical, and to a more limited extent, photochemical activation. In this, high selectivity, maximum productivity and environmental safety must be ensured. Higher processing of the raw materials and energies used requires, therefore, that original constructive solutions must be found, at least for the equipment determining the procedure, and that a more careful selection of materials be carried out. Greater precision of production is becoming increasingly more important in view of the ever more prominent task of increasing the specific degree of effectiveness of equipment and installations, saving raw materials and energy, and lowering costs. Higher temperature stability, chemical integrity, resistance to physical wear and tear are needed, and the greatest demands are made on surface quality. In the interest of high quality and effectiveness of production, the installations must satisfy specific demands resulting, for instance, from degree of reaction, processing and purification under specific procedural conditions. There are also growing demands on construction of scientific equipment and the production of rationalization means, since appropriate performances in the production of equipment, new technical effectiveness principles, and

equipment to measure biological values during real operating time, are becoming indispensable.

All that leads to the conclusion that the complexity and interdependence of key technologies demand greatly increased cooperation of all scientific disciplines concerned and long-term basic research, in order to attain breakthroughs in the technical and technological sectors. This places higher standards on conceptual work in industrial sectors, so that it can initiate task-settings that make possible the transition from evolutionary to revolutionary developments. The qualitatively new character of combining sciences with production--which is increasingly founded on the fact that the production process is changing ever more into a technological process of applying science--makes it necessary that basic researchers join in working on technically relevant task-settings, up to their transfer into production. And the technologist must have the capability of learning comprehensive basic knowledge. Finally, it proves to be favorable if the researcher--without detaching himself from his "basic research collective"--"goes along" with the result of his work at least until the time when it has been solidly transferred to production. We had proof of the usefulness of such a work procedure at the Koethen Engineering College, for example, during an assignment of college teachers lasting 6 to 12 months, which served the transfer of scientific findings within the framework of reconstructing the main plant of the VEB beverage combine Dessau, and development of process analyses in the VEB chemical combine Bitterfeld, respectively. It confirmed that in this manner the cadre exchange between scientific institutions and industry and planning was promoted and, at the same time, feedback of production experience was stimulated.

Our economic strategy aims at fostering reciprocal relations between basic research and production with a view to the future development of society. This requires adjustment to production conditions of the future and, combined with this strategic approach, simultaneous attainment of scientific achievements which serve the renewal and rationalization of today's productive forces. This means for scientific management that, on the basis of creative work within one discipline, great availability and flexibility of research must be ensured through interdisciplinary collectives.

Key Position of Research Units

The respective regulations of the Council of Ministers have created the general conditions for developing economic relations between the combines of industry and establishments of the GDR Academy of Sciences as well as the university system. Starting with joint responsibility for a further strengthening of basic research, this interlocking of science and production requires that research results must be purposefully translated along the technological lines of the combines.

This places demands on the research units in particular, which are charged with effective development and transfer of biotechnological processes to

industry and agriculture. Their work can lower considerably the risk connected with the transfer of laboratory findings to productive use. They contribute to raising the production stability of biocatalysts, and to confirming the procedural parameters. The research units also achieve high effects by making models of, and optimizing, processes; by testing newly developed devices, equipment and installations; by fashioning product samples. The establishment of a biotechnical branch at the Martin Luther University in Halle and Wittenberg, in which are participating the ministries for university and technical school affairs, for chemical industry, for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs, and for district managed industry and foodstuffs industry, as well as the coordinating agreements of the university of Halle with the chemical combine Bitterfeld and the agrochemical combine Piesteritz, correspond to these demands for the development and industrial utilization of biotechnology.

Assuming that biotechnology represents the integrated application of biosciences and technology in the technical use of micro-organisms, cell and tissue cultures for the determined influence and use of biological processes in production, it becomes clear that, to solve this task, very specific potentials capable of interdisciplinary research must be formed which must compute the complex effect of biocatalysts, biochemical material transformation, physical-chemical process conditions and technical implementation, on the basis of sector work in research and production transfer. This requires extensive coordination, but above all, strategic research planning.

The collectives, composed of natural scientists, mathematicians and engineers, must aim at results that can be methodically classified and generalized, even in product-oriented research. This demand is all the more urgent, since the introduction of such key technologies into materials industries necessitates, and also initiates, an accelerated development of productive forces. This is not only caused through a more rapid deterioration of installations and projects, but also through the increasing complexity and extent of interlocking of the installation systems, as well as through changes in the raw material and energy sources. On the basis of all those factors, ever new, optimal solutions are needed for the operational regimen and coordination of individual partial systems. To do justice to the growing demands for product quality, while the character of raw materials is changing, requires a more precise description of the course of processes. This also places greater demands on making more complex models of several dimensions and phases, the description and distribution of material components, and computing the dynamism of the operational regimen. Required are extensive mathematical, natural scientific, and technical-technological knowledge and capability, but also knowledge of the necessary data on materials, indices and model parameters, as well as mastery of the appropriate experimentation technique.

With a View to Industrial Utilization

Knowledge of the genetic mechanism and the application of newly developed biological techniques (gene technique, cell fusion, enzyme and immunology techniques) makes possible specific interventions in the genetic substance of living cells. This has created the precondition for purposeful use of the potential of living cells for synthesis, for transformation or breakdown of materials. The creative force of man grows through mastery of these complex procedures and mechanisms in the process of scientific-technical revolution; more and more he becomes the creator and controller of work processes. He develops from "imitator of nature to constructor of biological evolution within the framework of natural laws" (Footnote 3) (Kurt Hager, *Gesetzmaessigkeiten unserer Epoche--Triebkraefte und Werte des Sozialismus* <Order of laws in our epoch--driving forces and values of socialism>, Dietz Publishing Company, East Berlin 1983, p 44) and creates the fundamental preconditions for future biotechnical developments.

Development and industrial utilization of biotechnical procedures are based on the secured findings of the biosciences, but in their economic effect they are dependent on the state of biotechnical processes and the level of equipment and installation construction. Without underestimating the progress possible in genetic techniques and cell fusion, biochemistry and microbiology, it must be said that the economic effectiveness of biotechnological procedures in the near future will be determined by the level of process and engineering technology. This technology creates fundamental preconditions for industrial application of the findings of natural sciences. For this reason, work on developing procedures and technical application which demands complexity and greater concentration, focuses more and more on

- material transformation, i.e., determining the process variables, reactor design, transfer of scale, and optimizing the conduct of the process;

- using up and purifying the reaction products--process stages which today require over half the costs in biotechnological procedures;

- optimal procedural and technical installation coupling and control of the procedural steps.

In the development and transfer of such procedures, project and start-up collectives have proven valuable, in which employees of the research institutes cooperate with the manufacturers of equipment and their subsequent operators.

By formulating a complex research task for biotechnology, a strategic task of high societal rank was set, since--as Comrade Erich Honecker explained at the 11th SED Party Congress--we have great expectations for "research work in the field of biotechnology, the application of various biological procedures, including genetic-technical methods, for the attainment of highly processed products." (Footnote 4) (Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the 11th Party Congress of the SED, reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker, p 56) The research tasks aim at

ensuring the influence of biotechnological processes on the profile of productive forces of our country by providing the preliminary scientific work to be used in the renewal and rationalization of the production process. This includes developing biotechnologically relevant material and subject solutions for industrial and agricultural production, the health sector, ensuring raw materials, and environmental protection, as well as expansion of methodical processes. The great responsibility of scientists to break new ground is also combined with the duty that whatever, thanks to science, is technically and technologically feasible and economically possible, must also be necessary for society and humanly justifiable--this corresponds to the essence and goals of a socialist society, to our policy directed at the welfare of the people. Not least of all, numerous philosophical and ethical task-settings derive from this.

In order to combine the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, "the insight must be deepened that natural science, technical and technological solutions in the research process are also linked always with numerous social requirements and effects." In this context, the 11th Party Congress aimed at observing constantly "such social factors as work content and conditions, education and qualification, social relations, personality development, health, environment, the international position of the GDR, and other things, in all projects of basic research." (Footnote 5) (Ibid., p 57) To a great extent, this is also true for biotechnology. Its introduction not only has a large share in the fundamental changes of the productive forces caused by key technologies, and in the changes of the material-technical production base and its organization. It also influences the position and function of man in the work process, and thus, the nature of work. New demands on society's reproduction process are made; but at the same time, new possibilities open up to shorten development times, to spread innovations more quickly, to accelerate the reproduction cycle, and to implement the renewal process more strongly. To make full use of these possibilities requires appropriate education and systematic continued training. Benefits from implementing new projects are all the greater, the better workers are equipped to handle these technological changes and, on the basis of their special knowledge, to acquire the ability to think and act beyond their specialty.

The Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs initiated the necessary measures in good time. The Koethen engineering college began to train biotechnologists in 1978; simultaneously, basic technologies were incorporated in the study plans of natural scientists. Everything necessary is also taken into account in the changes of the training and continued education of engineers and economists in the GDR. Corresponding to the interdisciplinary nature of biotechnology, the central biotechnology work team in the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs is at present occupied with perfecting this training. It has prepared a special continued education program for theoreticians and production cadres, consisting of postgraduate studies, continued education courses, and opportunities to cooperate in research projects. In September 1986, the biotechnological continued education program of the Ministry for

University and Technical School Affairs will begin its activities at the Martin Luther University.

Based on the experience in applied microelectronics, a biotechnological work team under orders of the SED bezirk management Halle has become active, to which experienced scientists, Party cadres and combine representatives were appointed. They organize the exchange of experience on development and transfer of biotechnological processes, coordinate implementation of measures decided on by the leadership, and develop programs on qualification and continued education. Special attention is paid to the activities of the socialist youth organization within the framework of the bezirk youth biotechnology project.

Development and application of biotechnology is one of the decisive tasks in creating the production profile of the turn of the millenium. In the coming years, cadres must be prepared, research collectives must be shaped, and the material-technical prerequisites must be created-- a task which demands coordinated action by science and production within the framework of further shaping our developed socialist society.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS SEEN AS MODELS FOR EAST BLOC, PRC

Continuous Contact With Chinese

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Jul 86 p 4

[First part of a three-part article by Sven Lindqvist: "Hungary, the Laboratory of Socialism--This Little Country Plans for a Thousand Million"; first two paragraphs are DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] In Hungary they no longer line up, neither for meat nor for refrigerators, and that is because some of the market-socialist ideas developed by the country's economists have really been carried out. The east states' mandatory planned economy has been replaced by an economy governed by prices, taxes and interest rates.

Moreover the Hungarian model has been echoed in another Socialist country--China. Sven Lindqvist has recently visited Hungary, and in a series of three articles he will analyze economic developments and the flow of ideas between Hungary and China.

In school I had a Hungarian seatmate. We used to while away the endless hours by drawing on each other's backs. He often drew a map of Budapest.

When I came to Budapest for the first time this memory returned with unexpected force. I could feel the Donau running along my spine from Margit Island up between my shoulder blades to Petofi Bridge down in the small of my back. After 40 years I was standing in the middle of a reality which had always been drawn on my back.

I came to Hungary because I have always been interested in China. I am hunting for the architects of China's reform policies.

In Hungary?

Yes, the tracks lead here.

After Mao's death the Chinese again asked the basic questions: What is socialism? What should a socialist society look like? The answer is not found in the classics of Marxism. Marx and Engels wrote about capitalism and

the way out of it. They left it to the socialists of the future to decide how society would be shaped.

Their ideas first won in Russia, an economically backward civil-servant state with strong centralized traditions. The first concrete form of socialism therefore became the bureaucratic planned-economy society.

After World War II Stalin used armed force to cause all of East Europe to accept the Russian model. Even the Chinese imitated it for lack of anything better--it was of course the only form of socialism that was tested in practice.

Destalinization

But the realization that there were other possibilities persisted with many intellectuals. For them, "socialism" did not mean to eliminate the market, but to give it new assignments and new goals. Their suppressed ideas have time and time again raised their heads in times of crisis and changes of regime in the socialist world.

The first time was when Khrushchev began destalinization in 1956. Then one of his first steps was to break up 27 ministries of industry in Moscow and decentralize the decision-making power to regions and businesses. But it was not long before the central bureaucracy had taken back the power.

After the riots in Poland the same year the Polish government established an economic council under the chairmanship of the famous marxist economist Oskar Lange. In April 1957 the council published its "Themes on Certain Changes in Direction of the Economic Pattern." It recommended an economy built on independent companies, owned by the state but not controlled by binding plans, but by profitability, credit and financial policy.

The recommendations of the council were approved by the government, but met such strong opposition in the party and the state apparatus that they never attained any practical importance.

A similar committee in Czechoslovakia in 1957 presented "Problems in the New System for Planning and Financing of Czechoslovak Industry." The Czechoslovaks expressed themselves more carefully, their recommendations were not so far-reaching, but the result was the same as in Poland: no change.

New Incentives

When Brezhnev and Kosygin came to power in 1965 they (or at least Kosygin) wanted to clean out the planning bureaucracy. Extensive economic reforms were decided upon. Companies would get new freedom and new incentives. Part of the profits would be distributed to the employees, another part would remain in the companies as a basis for the companies' own investments. Long term bank credits would replace state grants.

As in a chain, similar reforms were announced in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. China was moving in the same direction. After Mao's mistake with

the Great Leap Forward, Liu Shaoji and Deng Xiaoping acquired greater influence. They wanted to give the market greater freedom in the Chinese economy. One can believe that this was to prevent a development such as what happened in 1966 when Mao unleashed the Cultural Revolution.

In Czechoslovakia the reform policies flowered briefly during the Prague spring of 1968. They ended with the Soviet occupation. The market-socialist ideas went back underground. There remained only some books about what they would have chosen but were not allowed--the better known of these were "The Plan and the Market" by Czechoslovak Ota Sik, and "The Market in a Socialist Economy" by Pole W. Brus.

The planning bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and East Europe had shown itself to be strong enough to retain power. But there was one exception.

Hungary.

Here in Hungary, where I am writing this, they never line up, neither for meat nor for refrigerators. The shops are well-filled, even with goods from the West. Such pleasures as baths, wine, music and goose liver are sensationally cheap. Down in the marketplace the Polish tourists try to sell their shoes and watches in order to be able to buy in this shopper's paradise.

Here some of the market-socialist ideas have really been carried out and followed. The obligatory planning has ceased. The companies have loans instead of asking for grants. Profit is their measure of success.

Reform Policy

Why here? Perhaps because Hungary has traditionally had a large foreign trade with Austria and other market economies. Perhaps because the riots of 1956 shocked those in power and forced them to realize that change was necessary. Perhaps because the party's then secretary general, Rezso Nyers, was himself an economist, old social democrat and convinced supporter of reforms.

But even here the opposition was formidable. The party-industrial complex succeeded in delaying reforms until 1968. Some years later, in 1974, the economic planners returned to power in the Central Committee, removed Nyers and began reintroducing the controlled economy.

But the reform policies never completely surrendered, and under pressure from a growing budget deficit and foreign debt they were fully restored in 1978.

It was then that the Chinese discovered Hungary. Rezso Nyers relates:

"After Mao's death the Chinese first turned their attention to those countries whose foreign policy demonstrated their independence in relation to the Soviet Union: Romania and Yugoslavia. But they soon found that Hungary had the most to offer. The first Chinese delegation came in 1979. Since then the contacts have been continuous, and very productive for both sides."

"When the Chinese delegations come they already have a very precise knowledge of our economy," said Tamas Bacsikai, professor of finance at the Budapest School of Economics. "Several of their leading economists speak fluent Hungarian and all of the most important Hungarian works in economic literature have been translated into Chinese. It is not necessary to spend any time on preliminary orientation. The Chinese questions go right to the sensitive points.

"The ideas of Hungarian economists are of course not unique," he continued. "They are derived mostly from discussions during the period between the wars between liberals and Marxists. Our originality lies in our carrying through those ideas. And the Chinese are applying them now with even greater courage and creativity. On decisive points they have already managed to go farther than we."

Dependence on Foreign Trade

The Chinese in Budapest willingly acknowledge their debt of gratitude:

"The first economic delegation to Hungary in 1979 was very important. The ideas for Chinese industrial reform were largely taken from here," said a Chinese who followed Hungarian-Chinese cooperation closely.

"What are the most important differences between the Hungarian and Chinese reforms?"

"Dependence on foreign trade is naturally greater in Hungary. Otherwise the differences are not great. In both countries the economies are controlled with prices, taxes and interest rates, even though the levels differ in concrete cases."

"Has China managed to go farther than Hungary in some respects?"

"My Hungarian colleagues say agricultural reform has gone deeper in China and China has gone farther in cooperation with foreign capital--the so-called 'economic zones' have no equivalent in Hungary."

"Reform ideas are of course found in all socialist countries. How does it happen that they have only been carried out in Hungary and China?"

"After the cultural revolution it was realized that we had to go to the root of the problems interfering with economic development. It was the mistake of the cultural revolution which created the conditions for a prompt and decisive reform in China."

"And in Hungary? Was it also true here that mistakes created crisis awareness?"

"Yes, it is no coincidence that reforms in both these countries resemble each other."

Arms Race a Problem

Is a corresponding crisis awareness beginning to grow in other socialist countries as well? Will the Hungarian-Chinese model spread to all of the socialist world? Professor Tamas Bacsikai is convinced of it:

"But that assumes a worldwide reduction of political tensions. The Soviets cannot afford radical economic experiments as long as the arms race continues."

Rezso Nyers, who knows from experience how tough the political opposition is against market socialism, said:

"In Poland opinion is strong in favor of economic reforms, but for the present they cannot be realized. In Czechoslovakia there can be no reforms without a change in the political regime. The existing regime neither can nor will. In the GDR the Soviet model is rather successful. The need for change is perhaps not felt so strongly.

"Much depends on what happens in the Soviet Union," he continued. "The Soviets are in an economic crisis and Gorbachev has laid down the lines for an economic reform. But there are still large political obstacles to overcome."

Yes, Gorbachev will, like Kosygin before him, clear out the planning bureaucracy. Companies will have new freedom and new incentives. Part of the profits will be distributed to the employees, and part will be retained in the companies as a basis for company-controlled investments. Long term bank credits will replace government grants.

Will Gorbachev's reforms run out in the sand like Kosygin's and Khrushchev's? We shall see. But in one respect the situation for the market-socialist ideas has radically changed--it is no longer just theories they are talking about, the concrete examples are exerting their own power.

Expectations

Five years after agricultural reform in China, Chinese agriculture could supply its own people, which the Soviets have not been able to do for many years. The poor Chinese have begun to export wheat to the rich Soviet Union. Chinese successes have put wind in the sails of those who are asking for similar changes in the Soviet Union.

After the economic reforms in Hungary, Budapest has become a Mecca for tourists from the eastern states. The entire Soviet "nomenclatura" has been here and has seen what market-socialism has to offer the consumer. It has created expectations which are putting pressure on the Soviet decision-makers to bring about similar results.

Of course Gorbachev does not say that. He does not say that the economic reforms that he just launched are about the same as those with which Kosygin failed in the 60's. Neither does he say that they are a pale copy of the

reforms that were first carried out in Hungary and later in China. Instead he refers to Lenin's New Economic Policy of the 20's.

But the Hungarian reform economists laugh up their sleeves. They know where Gorbachev's ideas came from.

Does intellectual work pay? Or are we intellectuals just sitting and drawing on each others backs? It is easy to despair--especially in a little occupied country where the Soviets draw the lines as to what is politically possible.

The Hungarian economists did not give up. With cunning and endurance they created the possibility to put into effect a part of their plan. And their plan for 10 million people in a little corner of Europe was expanded to fit 1,000 million people in China. And the same great power which previously prohibited their ideas and prevented them from becoming reality is now implementing them as its own.

Who are these men? How do they think? How do they look at the reality which their ideas are creating? More about this in the following articles.

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The tug of war between plan-socialists and market-socialists is described in W. Brus' "Osteuropas ekonomiska historia efter 1945" (The Economic History of East Europe After 1945) (Liber 1983). Brus' book "The Market in a Socialist Economy" was published in English by Routledge in 1972. "Plan och marknad" (The Plan and the Market) by Ota Siks was published by Bonniers in 1969. Important contributions to this discussion are collected in an anthology "Economiska system" (Economic Systems) (1971).

Jonas Kornai: Marxist Keynes

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 23 Jul 86 p 4

[Second part of a three-part article by Sven Lindqvist: "Janos Kornai on the Secret of Shortage--Production Eats Itself Up"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] In the socialist countries it is not the demand for goods and services which is the problem, but the availability. The socialist economies are permanent shortage economies. The Hungarian economist Janos Kornai has for over 20 years tried to answer the question of why this is so. Because of his main work "Economics of Shortage" he is on the way to becoming as important in the socialist world as Keynes is in the West. Sven Lindqvist met Kornai in Budapest.

On Janos Kornai's desk in Budapest there is a very small athlete holding two weights on a long, swinging pole. It is a symbol of the balance between supply and demand which always appears in economic theories--but too seldom in reality.

In capitalist countries it is demand which is the problem. Marx predicted that capitalism will collapse from within because of the contradiction between unlimited possibilities for production and insufficient demand. Keynes showed, at least occasionally, a way out of the dilemma: the state can realize a part of the production possibilities of capitalism by appropriately diluting the demand.

In socialist countries it is not demand which is insufficient, but supply. The socialist economies are permanent shortage economies. Why? Janos Kornai has devoted a large part of his life to searching for the answer to that question. He is the foremost economist of shortage. Through his main work, "Economics of Shortage" (1979) he is on the way to becoming as important in the socialist world as Keynes is in the West.

Who is he? Hungarians first learned about Kornai when he was an economic writer in the country's leading party newspaper in the beginning of the 50's. During the so-called journalists' revolt in October 1954 he was too outspoken in his criticism of economic policies. He was fired by Rakosi, Hungary's Stalin, and transferred to a lesser public job at the Institute for Economic Studies of the Academy of Science.

There he made a study of the problems of Hungarian light industry, and two years later in a dissertation he debated on "Overcentralization in Economic Administration." This became the opening gun in the Hungarian debate over planned socialism vs. market-socialism.

Consumers' Lack of Power

Kornai claimed that centralization is not a necessary element of a socialist economy. The immediate cause of centralization is the consumers' lack of power in a shortage market. The consumers become accustomed to never being able to get what they really want. They must buy what is available. The goods are sold without the producers exerting the least effort.

In order to protect the consumers and produce away the shortages, the central authorities intervene with planning and control. The authorities decide which quality and variety the companies will manufacture and what prices they will get. But such detailed plans hinder the companies in their daily activities and the result is greater shortages.

Then the authorities go over to more general directives, and formulate their planned goals in terms of money. But thereby the companies are encouraged to use as much manpower and input goods as possible in order to make the product more expensive and the planned goals easier to reach. And the shortages become greater.

When the authorities counter with a new plan, the reduction-of-costs plan, it turns out that the simplest way to reduce costs is to reduce quality and cut down the variety--which again increases the shortage of the goods that people want.

Shortages lead to central planning which in turn leads to increased shortages. In order to escape this vicious circle it was Kornai's conclusion that plans should be made with sufficient reserves of input goods in relation to manufactured goods and of manufactured goods in relation to the purchasing power of the people so that the shortage market is replaced by a surplus market.

In the surplus market the consumers have power. Expensive and poor quality goods are inexorably forced out. Producers are forced to be sharp in order to sell their products. The authorities can stop controlling companies and turn their attention to strategic long term planning which they previously could not keep up with, as they were submerged in details.

When this dissertation was presented, one month before the October riots of 1956, it was called pioneering. Two months later, in Russian-occupied Hungary, it was condemned as the work of a traitor. Kornai was the only Hungarian economist who was so designated.

Ten years later his ideas had won. He was called back to the Academy of Science in triumph to participate in the creation of the market-socialist reforms which put an end to overcentralization in Hungary.

Ten more years later, as a guest lecturer in Stockholm, Kornai wrote "The Economics of Shortage." in which he completed his analysis of the causes of shortage. He confirmed that the Hungarian reforms certainly reduced shortages, but did not create a real surplus market. Why?

"Is the reason, if I understand correctly, that the production process itself in a socialist society eats up its own results?"

"That is correct," said Kornai. "In all societies the largest buyers are the producers themselves. There is nothing especially Hungarian or socialistic about that--the majority of all production is used in all economies as input goods in production. My theory says that in a socialist economy the demand for input goods will always exceed the output, because the company has what I call a 'soft budget limit.'"

To Kornai, the difference between a "soft" and a "hard" budget limit is basic. A family's budget is iron hard. You may have a burning desire for a helicopter--you still cannot purchase one because you do not have enough money.

Restraint Unthinkable

There are always good reasons for expanding an activity. Everybody wants to grow. In capitalist countries these growth ambitions are restrained by hard budget limits. Each investment must meet competition and make a profit. Therefore, in many situations companies voluntarily refrain from investing.

In socialist countries such restraint is unthinkable. Competition is often weak or nonexistent and the companies do not need to worry about profit or loss. The state will pay. Therefore the budget limit is soft. Nothing

restrains the companies' desire to expand. Their demand grows unhindered and is in practice endless. On the other hand output is limited. Therefore shortages occur.

The shortages spread to the consumers, since companies and families are largely competing for the same goods. Companies buy electric power for their machines, transportation for their employees, housing for their offices, furniture for their waiting rooms, theater tickets and restaurant meals for their customers...

Parts of this description are easy to recognize from Swedish experience. Who has not been able to get a taxi because they were all occupied by those riding at the expense of businesses or government? In SAS aircraft, those who are flying for business ride first-class, while the real consumers, the consumers whom all production claims to serve, are shoved behind a curtain in the tail of the plane. Restaurants are full of those who are dining as a link in the production process, while the rest of us can at most afford to go to the back door and fetch a little leftover food in a box...

Input Goods

In a society where business consumption is not the least restrained by a desire for profit, they swallow an even greater share of the market. There is hardly one product or service which is not in demand by business. And every consumer product can be changed to input goods by exporting it and using the foreign exchange to purchase input goods.

In the end there remains a remnant which can in no way be converted to input goods, a little remnant which not even the last company with the softest budget can use. It is this little remnant which, in socialist countries, is made available to the families, and is called consumption.

And you wonder why there are shortages!

"It is not even theoretically possible to invest and produce society out of shortages," summarized Kornai in his conclusion. "Only hard budget limits on the demands of the companies can create a surplus."

It will soon be ten years since Kornai presented these conclusions in Stockholm. Now they have begun to break through in his homeland.

Support Measures

Theoretically Hungarian companies have been responsible for their profits and losses since 1968. But there are 200 ways for the state to take money from or give money to the companies. In reality this means that money is taken away from the effective and given to the ineffective.

Almost one-third of major Hungarian companies are kept alive by such support measures. But now voices are being raised everywhere demanding that pressure be put on these companies to force them to hold costs down.

A new law on bankruptcy with hard and unforgiving demands as to when a company must go into liquidation--that is not usually what the people want. But they are doing it in Hungary, because Kornai--who is not only a great economist, but also a writer with wonderful pedagogic finesse--has taught his countrymen that companies that lose money are the hole through which their welfare runs out.

And now his ideas are going farther in the socialist world. "The Economics of Shortage" is one of the ten or so Kornai works that has been translated into Chinese. Many economists in China call themselves his students without having ever met him. "Hard budget limit" and "soft budget limit" have become central concepts in the Chinese debate. Also in China they are establishing a bankruptcy law which will prevent socialist companies from swallowing each other's products before they reach the consumers.

Thereby perhaps market socialism has solved the problem of shortages. What other problems will take its place? How is it with unemployment, inflation, class divisions, social insecurity and all the other misery which the market forces usually bring? More about that in the concluding article.

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Kornai's first book, "Overcentralization in Economic Administration," was published by Oxford University Press in 1959. "The Economics of Shortage" was first published in Stockholm in 1979, and then by North Holland in Amsterdam in 1980. A popular collection of Kornai's ideas is found in a collection of essays, "Contradictions and Dilemmas," published by Corvina in Budapest, 1985. These three books are written in clear, understandable, intellectually enjoyable prose. Kornai has also written a number of works which require mathematical and other abilities by the reader, for example "Anti-Equilibrium" Amsterdam 1971, and "Mathematical Planning of Structural Decisions," Amsterdam 1975.

Kornai has not received the Nobel prize in economics, a mistake which it is still possible to correct.

Kornai Faults 'Hungarian Miracle'

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Jun 86 p 4

[Third part of a three-part article by Sven Lindqvist: "The One-Party System and the Economy--Reforms Do Not Replace Democracy"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] In Hungary a number of market-socialist reforms have been carried out. But what have they brought? How does the ordinary Hungarian live? The "Hungarian miracle" was not earned by the reforms, but was the result of the Hungarians' relentless self-exploitation, their willingness to pay for increased consumption with illegal jobs and moonlighting. The paternalistic government sector is still dominant, and in comparison with its oppression all the other class differences seem unimportant. In his third article from

Hungary Sven Lindqvist converses with Gyorgy Konrad, Miklos Haraszti and others about these questions. The previous articles appeared on 20 and 23 July.

Do the Hungarians like the reform policies? Does today's reality correspond to what the reform politicians once drew on each other's backs? Is market-socialism the right way?

Nobody, except for a few neostalinists, wants to return to the old planned economy. Neither is anybody completely satisfied with what the society has become.

The political father of reform, Rezso Nyers, resembles a doctor who has been interrupted in the middle of an operation and can no longer take responsibility for the result. He was of course removed in 1974. The opponents of reform were in power for five years and created a foreign debt for Hungary which became all the more difficult to bear when interest rates rose in the 80's. That has checked the reforms, according to Nyers, and caused the result to differ from what was hoped for.

The intellectual father of reform, Janos Kornai, does not want to use the words "market-socialism" about Hungary. In his latest book "Contradictions and Dilemmas" he describes the Hungarian system as a wonderful mixture of small-scale capitalism and legal and semi-legal private activities grown up around the dominant and still strong paternalistic state sector.

The so-called Hungarian miracle is, he says, not the earnings of reform, because it still has not given the companies real responsibility--no, the secret is the relentless self-exploitation of the Hungarian people, the willingness of Hungarians to pay for increased consumption with illegal jobs and moonlighting.

Biological Limit

But how long can a people extend themselves up to and beyond the biological limit of their ability? And what is socialistic about that?

"Mortality among grown men has increased since the 60's," said Rudolf Audorka, professor of economic sociology at the Commercial University. "now it is rising among women. Excess mortality is highest among men in their 40's who have very long work days.

"The acute cause of death is often heart disease or other stress illness. The real causes are not clear. But we are working with the hypothesis that excess mortality is due to the many extra jobs."

Alcohol is another main factor. Hungary has always been a wine-drinking country, but in the postwar years the consumption of spirits has risen and is now the highest in the world. Several years ago the serving of spirits was prohibited between 6 o'clock and 9 o'clock in the morning, and that has had a certain restraining effect.

At the same time fewer children are being born. For a quarter of a century the number of births has been below the level of reproduction. One of the reasons is the shortage of housing. Housing construction was already insufficient, and when the country's economy became overextended at the beginning of the 80's construction was reduced even further. In order to get a home one must have rich parents who can buy or build a private house.

Class Divisions

"Are there also other signs that class divisions are growing?

"No," said Rudolf Andorca, "it is the poorest part of the population, village people, who have gained the most from the reform policies. Agricultural coops were quickly adopted, their wages rose and private plots were encouraged, which gave the entire countryside a boost. An investigation of family budgets in 1982 mainly shows less differences in incomes than before the reforms. But the result must be taken with a pinch of salt, because there is an extensive black market which is not included."

How large is the black economy? Andorca says it is 16-17 percent of working hours, but others believe it is much more. In Hungary it is more important than anywhere else to be healthy and strong, since the basic pay, which is replaced by health insurance, is such a small part of total income. The rest comes from illegal jobs and connections which must be maintained in order to exist. One dare not be sick, unemployed or fired, because then he loses the informal contacts which yield half of the living standard.

"Of course class differences have increased," said Richard Hirschler, editor of the Chamber of Commerce's successful newspaper, which in seven years has gone from 12,000 to 150,000 copies.

"The losers are primarily the two million pensioners who live on an existence minimum of 600 kroner per month," he said. "The winners are the hamburger kings, electronics salesmen, shop owners--private businessmen who still have very little competition and pay almost no taxes. They are the ones getting second cars and swimming pools."

One can stroll for hours among the luxury villas on Buda Hill. And one begins to wonder--doesn't this provocative new wealth stir bad blood among overcrowded people with strictly regulated wages?

"Not really," said author Miklos Haraszti. "Communism has not abolished the bourgeois class society, just made it uninteresting--because all the other class differences seem unimportant when compared with the oppression of the centralized state."

National Humiliation

Haraszti is the editor of the underground quarterly journal BEZELO--which is also the name of the room in a prison where the prisoners get to talk to their visitors. The journal is tolerated by the authorities, and when from time to

time it is seized the punishment is only fines---thereby they avoid trials and publicity.

I knew him primarily from his book, "Workers in a Worker's State," in which in the beginning of the 70's he described the relentless "self-exploitation" which Janos Kornai talks about. When the reform policy's requirement for profit is translated into concrete piece rates at the Red Star Tractor Factory all talk about "workers' power" and "socialism" becomes absurd. Cynicism is the only ideology which survives.

"At one time the party could still buy legitimacy by offering full employment and increasing living standards. Now the standard of living is declining and the state-owned losing companies are full of hidden unemployment which sooner or later will be exposed. Then what remains of socialism? Only the naked violence, as in Poland," said Haraszti.

The Chinese appear full of hope and the pleasure of discovery when they venture out into the no-man's-land of market-socialism. Perhaps because socialism for them is associated with national new birth. On the other hand for Hungarians it has meant national humiliation. Socialism is a system which was forced upon them from outside, to be evaded and circumvented. The Chinese are really looking for new socialist solutions, the Hungarians believe that they have found the right solution--it lies on the other side of the border, and is called capitalism. Here they say that socialism is only the longest way to capitalism.

Esthetic Decline

Naturally this shows that they are romanticizing capitalism and refusing to look at its shortcomings. Two exhibitions are just now drawing large crowds in Budapest. One is a nostalgic look backward at Hungarian architecture, art and artistic handicraft from the bourgeois heydays of 1891-1918. These articles reflect capitalism as light, pleasant, fanciful, downright sensible. No shadows are allowed to obscure this picture.

The other is a bright exhibition of Hungarian poster art 1885-1986. There capitalism is more glaring and more contradictory, but also inexhaustibly vital, sensually enticing and full of expression. History since 1918 is presented as a long esthetic decline down to the last years of the 70's and the early 80's, when a modest renaissance is observed.

What was it which created this lost golden age? The uprising against Austrian imperialism in the middle of the 1800's was certainly struck down, but it laid the foundation for the reforms of 1867 which gave Hungary important space for development.

In a corresponding way the 1956 uprising against Soviet imperialism was struck down, but it laid the foundation for the 1968 economic reforms which gave Hungary the most freedom of action in East Europe.

Today's budding neobourgeois condition is reflected in a hundred-year-old history. Why did the first golden age not endure? Because the new class of

manufacturers and businessmen never reached the roots of the state. The feudal elite retained a monopoly of political power.

Feudal Hierarchy

And today?

"Today we also have a predetermined political hierarchy," said author Georgiy Konrad. "The Communist Party has a monopoly of political power. It is basically a feudal structure which even interferes with economic development."

"The difference being that the feudal aristocracy was a closed group, while almost anybody can become a member of the Communist Party?"

"One does not thereby become freer. The party demands a feudal loyalty. One must give up his opinions, his style, his habits--yes, even his appearance must be adapted to established norms."

"That would also be visible to me if I joined the party?"

"Of course. You would become serious. You would show respect. You would not contradict. You would no longer say 'they' or 'I'. You would say 'we'. It is 'we' who take responsibility, and you would share it. You would no longer be a person, but a representative of the mythical 'we'."

Democratic Tendency

"Therefore you cannot speak directly about things. You use ellipsis. You make allusions. You speak sympathetically, but you never state the concrete questions, conflicts, problems. You assume that there exists a conspiracy between you and your listener so that everybody understands what you are going to say before you need to say it."

"Is it assumed that it is better to dramatize the conflicts?" I said. "Could it not be wiser to try to incorporate them? As the Catholic church does, when pagan rites which cannot be rooted out are simply explained as being Catholic rites. In a similar way it seems to me that Communism is now trying to incorporate Hungarian nationalism, yes even capitalism itself..."

"Capitalism is too large a mouthful," laughed Konrad. "Much more than communism can manage by itself. On the contrary, it is that pluralizing the economy can logically lead to pluralizing the cultural and political awareness. This attacks the foundations of the system. Perhaps there is an inner conflict between a one-party system and economic reform."

"So far no type of state socialism has been able to create a real labor market, where workers and civil servants can negotiate about their conditions, or a real capital market where capital moves from the ineffective branches and companies to the effective. Those are the two critical points."

"The one-party system is the big obstacle. It does not dare take on the necessary conflicts, because it lacks political legitimacy."

"What is the solution? How would you like to see socialism and Hungary develop?"

"In the whole world there is a creeping tendency toward democracy. Just during the past decade tens of dictators have been overthrown--in Latin America, in Europe, in Asia. If I were a hegelian I would say that it is the rising of the spirit of the world. Therefore we should not be completely pessimistic. Even for us--here in Hungary, here in central Europe--there is a chance."

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Haraszti's "Arbetare i en arbetarstat" (Worker in a Worker's State) was published in Swedish in 1976. Konrad's "Besokaren" (The Visitor) (1974), "Statsgrundaren" (Founder of a Nation) (1977) and "Forloraren" (The Loser) (1980) have been published in Swedish. One can best follow the economic discussion in Hungary in the newspapers NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY and ACTA OECONOMICA which can be found at the Stockholm University library. A comparison of the economic reforms in different socialist countries, including Hungary and China is in Peter T. Knight's "Economic Reform in Socialist Countries," World Bank Staff Working Papers 579 (Washington 1983).

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ECONOMIC

ROMANIA

GREATER INTER-FACTORY COOPERATION URGED TO SAVE LABOR

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 30 Apr 86 pp 13,14

[Article by Dr P. Rotaru: "Inter-Factory Cooperation and Current Needs for Conserving Social Labor"]

[Text] As a reflection of the essential nature and the method of concrete implementation of the provisions of the special programs for raising the product quality level, lowering consumption of energy and materials, and increasing labor productivity over the period up to 1990, the broad campaign in progress in the economy to improve the organization of production and labor, modernize manufacturing technologies, and apply the flat-rate and piecework systems pursues the goal of improving the quality and competitiveness of industrial products. Conducted "ad hoc," under conditions of broad promotion of the accomplishments of contemporary technical and scientific progress in production, the programs for improvement in the organization of production and labor and for modernization of technological manufacturing processes include immediate and long-term solutions.

A prominent part among the long-term measures is assigned to those for modernizing the production structure of enterprises, this including measures for rational establishment of the level of production integration and the level of cooperation with units specializing in the production of subassemblies, products, parts, and production processes.

Socialist ownership of the means of production and management of the economy on the basis of the unified national plan necessitate establishment of the optimum ratio of integration to cooperation in the development of industry, and above all of the subsidiary sectors of the machinebuilding industry. The requirements of the law of planned, proportional development of the economy, as well as those of the law of conservation of time, have obviously been taken into consideration in development of Romanian industry as a whole and of its various component sectors during the years of socialist construction. When examined from this viewpoint, the process of division of labor on the scale of the industrial sector is seen to involve the manufacture of products in narrowly specialized enterprises, mixed-production enterprises, and integrated enterprises.

Analysis from the viewpoint of its intensity reveals that cooperation, with its immediate concomitant specialization, in the three machinebuilding ministries is determined by a great number of factors, noteworthy among which

are the level of product sophistication and complexity and the existence in Romania of production units (departments or enterprises) with a tradition in the manufacture of component parts or subassemblies or in the execution of technological operations required for turning out a complex finished product. The 1984 and 1985 accomplishments, as well as the 1986 plan targets, reflect the tendency toward extension of cooperation in production to all machinebuilding ministries. At the same time, the Ministry of the Machinebuilding Industry, in which the manufacture of large runs of products, machinery, and equipment is concentrated because of the specific nature of the ministry, also reflected the highest level of cooperation in 1986, 41.4 percent of total production costs. This is a direct consequence of the intensification of specialization. In second place with 30.8 percent is the Ministry of the Heavy Equipment Industry, followed by the Ministry of the Electrical Engineering Industry, the cooperation level of which is 23.9 percent.

Because of their specific nature, the average cooperation levels for the ministries is, of course, obtained by adding together the different specific cooperation levels of the centrals of these plan administrators. Thus, in the performance figures obtained in 1985 in the Ministry of the Machinebuilding Industry the cooperation level for individual centrals ranged from 6.4 percent in the case of the Brasov Bearing and Assembly Element Industrial Central to 50.3 percent in that of the Brasov Transportation Motor Vehicle Industrial Central. Similarly, within the Ministry of the Heavy Equipment Industry, the cooperation level reached at various centrals ranged from 12.4 percent at the Bucharest Chemical and Food Preparation Equipment Industrial Central to 46.6 percent at the Bucharest Railroad Car and Rolling Stock Industrial Central, while in the Ministry of the Electrical Engineering Industry, the respective minimum and maximum levels were 9.4 percent for the Bucharest Precision Mechanics and Textile Industry Central and 35.9 percent for the Bucharest Electronics and Computer Engineering Central.

To stress the significance of the data presented, we must point out that the manufacture of complex high-technology finished products such as automobiles, tractors, sea-going ships, electric locomotives, program-controlled machine-tools, etc is the result of cooperation among tens and even hundreds of enterprises, both under a specific industrial central and under other industrial centrals of the ministry in question and of other ministries. The intensification of division of labor through organizational or technological specialization of cooperating enterprises represents primarily a factor for increasing labor productivity; large production runs accomplished on manufacturing lines outfitted with high-performance machinery and equipment contribute both to increase in labor productivity and to minimization of production losses of raw and intermediate materials reflected in the lowering of production costs.

While representing an important means of modernizing production in each organizationally or technologically specialized enterprise, specialization and cooperation simultaneously represent decisive conditions for achievement of the optimum integration-cooperation ratio in enterprises that manufacture complex finished products. Planned coordination, at the level of the industrial central, the ministry, and the national economy, of the processes of specialization and cooperation between enterprises with different structures to turn out products of high design complexity and world-

level technical parameters represents during this 5-year plan an essential characteristic of and decisive condition for ensuring the competitiveness of machinebuilding industry products on foreign markets.

At the same time, concentration of the efforts of the industrial centrals and the ministries on the problems of quality, competitiveness, and efficiency must be closely and permanently supported by perfect organization and execution of specialization and cooperation processes of different units contributing to the manufacture of finished products. Moreover, organizationally or technologically specialized enterprises can, and in fact do, promote technologies and materials which impart higher quality to the parts or subassemblies which they deliver under the cooperation arrangement and which within this framework ensure improved performance for the complex finished product.

While it is a means of turning out a complex finished product, under such conditions cooperation also represents a decisive resource for channeling the creative efforts of the staffs of enterprises and scientific research and technological engineering institutes in different industrial sectors toward promotion of technical innovation and technological development. Mention should be made, for example, of the contributions made by the enterprises which cooperate in the manufacture of passenger automobiles by promoting and extending technical progress; they are given concrete expression in increase in the dependability, traffic safety, comfort, and appearance of the specific complex finished products. Noteworthy accomplishments have also been obtained in the production of petroleum and chemical equipment and in the electrical engineering and electronics industry.

The economic analyses made in machinebuilding enterprises supplying assemblies and parts and in enterprises deriving the benefit of cooperation reveal several essential characteristics of cooperation and the directions in which action should be taken to extend it.

The role of the industrial central and ministry coordinating manufacture of a complex finished product is increasing during the current stage in determination of the optimum integration-cooperation ratio. The establishment of this optimum, which is itself an element of decisive importance in manufacture of complex finished products, requires priority application of efficiency criteria. This presupposes assurance of the highest possible effect at the lowest possible cost over the longest possible period of time, something which is determined by the optimum period of operation of the industrial facility in question. Practical achievement of this goal necessitates execution of cooperation with specialized enterprises which provide, on a continuous basis and as required, subassemblies, modules, or technological operations of high quality at prices lower than the cost at which they could be obtained at the enterprise which manufactures the complex finished product (the delivered price of subassemblies produced under the cooperation arrangement plus the transportation and handling costs must be lower than the cost at which the customer could produce the subassembly in question with his own resources).

The producer price of complex finished products should provide greater incentive for increasing the share of cooperation in the producer's activities. Because organizationally or technologically specialized enterprises

which cooperate in the manufacture of finished products generally have assured sales and are not directly confronted with market requirements, we believe it to be absolutely necessary to limit the profit derived from the price of products and subassemblies manufactured under the cooperation arrangement. Mention should be made in this context of the efforts made by the Pitesti Passenger Automobile Industrial Central. It has set maximum limits on the profitability of cooperation arrangements made between enterprises under the central. This also works to the advantage of the final producer, the Pitesti Passenger Automobile Enterprise.

To meet the requirements of the new economic and financial mechanism, the efforts of all organizationally or technologically specialized enterprises, as well as those which turn out finished products, are concentrated in the current stage in the direction of substantial increase in efficiency, through improvement in the efficiency of processing raw and intermediate materials and increase in labor productivity, by implementating the programs of measures drawn up in the process of improving the organization of production and labor and modernizing products and technologies. All these measures will contribute to greater increase in the national income intended for expanded capital replacement and continuing elevation of the standard of living of the workers.

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ECONOMIC

ROMANIA

CHANGES IN LABOR FORCE STRUCTURE DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 30 April 86 p 17

[Article by Dr Marinache Vasilescu: "Quantitative and Qualitative Changes in Labor Force Structure"]

[Text] The first part of this article appeared in REVISTA ECONOMICA No 10, 1986.

In the context of the structural changes in the labor force in Romania a special place is occupied by manual workers, the number of which increased from 14.6 percent of the gainfully employed population of Romania in 1950 to 57.5 percent in 1984. The evolution of the number of manual workers in the total number of worker personnel is especially significant, from 57.6 percent in 1950 to 79.6 percent in 1984. The quantity and quality of this social category has led to a strong upsurge of the national economy, Romania being one of the countries with the most dynamic economy. Thus, the social product and the national income had increased in 1984 by a factor of 17 over 1950, industrial output by a factor of 38, etc.

In the matter of the quality of worker training, note is to be made of the changes that have taken place in the structure of forms of qualification, in favor of the more complex forms, more rapid increase in the number of workers in trades specific to the basic sectors, and the appearance of new trades. These processes and trends are clearly reflected in the year-to-year increase in the percentage of skilled workers in the total number of workers, and also in the fact that the growth of the economy has created conditions such that the additional requirement for manual workers can be met almost in its entirety with skilled workers.

The conditions under which worker training has been administered are such that changes in worker skill structure have been determined by the need for faster growth in the number of workers employed in industry largely through employment of workers coming from rural areas. Hence also the need for using forms of training in keeping with the rate of absorption determined by the proposed levels to be reached by the material production sectors, and by industry above all. It must be remembered in this connection that scientific and technical progress and the constantly rising level of education and culture reached by workers drawn into the qualification process have been factors contributing to diversification of the forms of

training, specifically, the lyceum, the vocational school, the qualification course, and on-the-job training.

The need for a high level of vocational and specialized training entails broadening the horizon of scientific knowledge and general culture of workers. Thus, in the machinebuilding, chemical, power engineering, and other industries, which are characterized by a high degree of mechanization and automation, the number is increasing of workers who have completed lyceums and vocational schools. As production processes are mechanized and automated, the content of worker activities undergoes changes characterized in particular by an ongoing transfer of tasks from the sphere of physical exertion and of practical skill and dexterity to that of theoretical, technical, and scientific knowledge. To meet the requirements of modern production, the worker must have a knowledge of mechanics, mathematics, chemistry, etc. making it easier for him to understand the laws and principles of operation of machinery and equipment and the production process or various stages of the process. "What we need," pointed out Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his address at the Science and Education Congress in November 1985, "are men thoroughly trained in technical and professional specialties in all areas, ones with a high level of general culture. Laborers, technicians, engineers, farmers, workers in all sectors constitute a decisive factor in carrying out all the country's plans and programs for economic and social development."

As a result of its numerical and qualitative growth, the working class is not just asserting itself in its own sectors of activity, but is also exerting an influence on the other social categories through its dynamism and organizational strength. The increase in the percentage of workers in rural areas and their efforts in turning out agricultural products have a direct influence on the mindset of the peasant, change him from the viewpoint of his attitude toward work, train him and guide him toward better organized forms of work, develop his sense of discipline, and stimulate his interest in cultural and technical progress.

The fact that, on the one hand, the period of school attendance has lengthened, and on the other that persons who have completed a particular form of education continue to participate in important vocational instruction and advanced training activities indicates the increase in the amount of time devoted to these efforts, and at the same time the need for providing cadres who organize and conduct such activities. This represents a guarantee and potential for ever fuller and more comprehensive development of human personality. The "educational reserve" given concrete expression in the volume of knowledge and the efficiency of its application in production is known to be a significant factor in the progress of society.

A new social category has appeared and developed in the process of building the socialist system, the cooperative peasant. Essential changes have taken place in the structure of the population employed in agriculture. In 1984 the members of agricultural production cooperatives represented nearly 70 percent of the population employed in agriculture.

The immediate presence of a number of workers in agriculture and the modern forms of work are leading to substantial changes among the cooperative peasants. Under the influence of the factors indicated above, the process of

transforming the peasant as such into a peasant who has acquired a high level of knowledge has intensified. We point in this connection to the fact that the cooperative peasantry is undergoing a process of professionalization and specialization in certain agricultural activities. The organizational forms assumed by the agricultural work performed in various types of brigades, which are forms corresponding to certain levels of training in agricultural production cooperatives and which are being constantly improved, not only change the specialty of the cooperative peasant, but broaden his intellectual and cultural level, with direct consequences in increasing the efficiency of work done. The structure itself of the cooperative peasantry has begun to assume a different aspect. Certain groups are making their appearance in this category: peasants specializing in different activities, livestock growers and tenders, fruit growers, vegetable growers, technicians, etc.

The social and economic progress being made in the rural areas of socialist Romania are given expression among other things in qualitative change in the social structures of the village. The social and demographic makeup is marked increasingly, along with the presence of the cooperative peasant, also by the presence of the worker employed in industry, the one employed in service and management activities, the intellectual, and the specialist.

An important role in intensive and many-sided development of the economy and in the general progress of the economy is played by intelligentsia with close links to the people, in alliance with the working class and the peasantry. There has been a substantial increase in the number of engineers and technicians in production and scientific research, of physicists, chemists, teachers in education at all levels, doctors, labor personnel in culture and art, and other specialists.

Contemporary Romanian society is experiencing broad economic development, a far-ranging process of growth of production forces, and above all a fast pace of industrialization which is imparting to society as a whole the dynamism that characterizes it. During the 1981-1985 5-year plan, net production increased at an average annual rate of more than 5.2 percent, and the national income at the rate of 4.4 percent, being 24.1 percent higher than in 1980. Labor productivity in industry nationwide increased 15.4 percent over the same period, real wages of workers by around 8 percent over the 5-year plan as a whole, and the real income of the peasantry deriving from work in agricultural production cooperatives 12 percent per gainfully employed person. The goals of the 5-year plan in progress, and accordingly their attainment, are intended to raise our country to new heights of progress and civilization. The historically important successes achieved during the years of socialist construction, within the framework of which the resources created by society have been directed toward economic development and improvement of the welfare of the people, guarantee continuing progress by Romanian society, in which the people is the only beneficiary of the fruits of its labor, and assure prosperity and happiness for the country.

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ECONOMIC

ROMANIA

COMPETITIVENESS OF ROMANIAN TRACTORS ON WORLD MARKET

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 30 Apr 86 pp 18-19

[Article by Olga Mihaescu and Ilie Nastase: "Coordination of Export Supply with World Market Demands: International Confirmation of Technical Level of Romanian Tractors"]

[Text] Tractor manufacture, which made its appearance at the beginning of the industrialization of Romania, developed at a very vigorous pace during the period of provision of equipment and material resources for agriculture. The average annual rate of growth of production in this subsector of the machinebuilding industry was 11.2 percent over the 1950-1975 period.

Today Romania is the seventh-place tractor producer in the world, after Japan, the USSR, the United States, Italy, England, and the Federal Republic of Germany. The rapid increase in the volume of output has been accompanied by broad diversification of the product assortment structure, especially as a result of the development of structural versions specializing in performance of different types of operations and as a result of widening of the power class range to which the tractors are assigned. Thus, along with the tractors in the small and medium power ranges (26-65 horsepower) representing 90 percent of the total output, there is an increasing effort to add to the structural range of Romanian tractors having from 65 to 180 horsepower and to develop the production of high-power industrial tractors.

Particular attention is devoted to further elevation of the technical and quality level of Romanian tractors and improvement in their performance characteristics, especially as regards increase in operating speed and in traction power in service, improvement in energy efficiency and increase in the dependability of tractors, greater ease of handling and coupling different items of equipment, improvement in operating conditions (ergonomics) in tractor design, etc.

As a result of the accelerated development and the effort exerted to continue to increase the technical competitiveness of Romanian tractors, over the last 10 years tractor exports have represented an increasing share of Romanian tractor production. Romanian tractor exports to a number of markets increased by a factor of nearly 12 over the 1965-1984 period, outstripping production growth by a factor of 2.4 over this period. Starting in 1975, more than 50 percent of the output created has been earmarked for export.

This rapid growth of the volume of Romanian tractor exports attests to the technical competence and the high specialization of the Romanian products.

A fresh confirmation was recently obtained of the high technical level of tractors labeled "made in Romania," in the form of the results of the testing of Romanian tractors alongside the products of the largest world producers performed by the Nebraska Tractor Test Lab in the United States. When tested from the viewpoint of energy efficiency in operation, the Romanian tractors (marketed under the trademark LONG) were assigned a high place in the ranking of major world manufacturing firms. The test results, published in the respected periodical IMPLEMENT-TRACTOR, summarize the tests conducted over a period of 4 years (1980-1984) by operating the tractors at varying percentages of maximum engine power. The following rankings and ratings refer to the results obtained with 75 percent of maximum power, this being the most frequently encountered situation under actual product use conditions.

The tests run with small tractors, those in the 20-40-horsepower class, showed that the Romanian U 350 tractor (LONG 360) exhibits an energy efficiency in operation of 12.13 horsepower-hours per gallon of fuel when used at 75 percent of maximum engine power, 12.45 horsepower-hours when used at maximum power, and 10.48 horsepower-hours when used at 50 percent of maximum power.

With this performance the Romanian tractor exceeds the average energy efficiency of its class by 7 percent in the first case and by 8 percent in the other two, being ranked sixth among the 30 types of tractors tested in this power class.

The obvious advantages yielded by the high energy efficiency in operation of Romanian tractors of these types constitute a strong argument for their intense promotion as part of our tractor export supply, especially since there are quite a few geographic areas whose specific conditions generate a high demand for small tractors. Japan, for example, is one small country whose natural conditions necessitate the use of small tractors and thus create a high demand for tractors of this type, even though Japan is a major world producer and exporter. In 1983, although it exported 245,237 tons of tractors representing a value of 943 million dollars, Japan imported 6,072 tons of tractors representing 28.1 million dollars ("Annual Review of Engineering Industries and Automation," Economic Commission for Europe, United Nations, New York, 1986, Vol II, p 68). A heavy demand for small tractors is also seen for countries in which there is a large number of small farm plots and for developing countries. In addition, the tractors in this class are made in different versions for use in garden and orchard operations, and this greatly expands the marketing potential.

Among the types of tractors in the 40-60-horsepower class tested by the Nebraska Tractor Test Lab, the Romanian U 530 tractor was ranked fourth among the 32 products tested, the U 530 DTC sixth, and the U 445 seventh. With an energy efficiency of 13.52 horsepower-hours per gallon of fuel in operation at 75 percent of maximum power, 13.45 horsepower-hours per gallon at maximum power, and 12.24 horsepower-hours per gallon in use at one-half of total power, the Romanian U 530 (LONG 510) tractor exceeds the average

efficiency of the group by 8 percent, 2 percent, and 13 percent respectively, as well as that of the other 2 types of Romanian tractors tested.

This ranking of the Romanian tractors in the 40-60-horsepower class among those of world producers from the viewpoint of efficiency of operation greatly increases their prospects for penetration of the international market, and thus for increase in export volume and efficiency, inasmuch as the energy consumption criterion is a decisive factor in the procurement of equipment for mechanization of the agriculture of any country. Romania produces more than 40 tractor models in this power class which are designed specifically for use in different types of farming operations and can be promoted in export both to the developed and the developing countries. From the viewpoint of marketing prospects it may be assumed that Romanian special-purpose medium-power tractors can be aimed at the markets of the developed European countries, where there is a need for adding to and replacing the current fleet, and also for equipping farms for garden and orchard operations, as well as in other European countries (Spain, Turkey, Greece) where concentration of farm production has not reached a high level. In addition, the Romanian supply of such tractors in simple and cheap conventional, general-purpose models can be aimed at the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

The Romanian tractors in the 60-80-horsepower class also exceed the energy efficiency of the 32 tractor types tested by the Nebraska Tractor Test Lab. Thus, the U 640 (LONG 610) is ranked tenth among the tractor types tested, recording an efficiency of 13.51 horsepower-hours per gallon fuel in use at 75 percent of power, 13.58 horsepower-hours per gallon of fuel when used at full engine power, and 11.92 horsepower-hours per gallon in use at 50 percent of power. The average efficiency of the tractors tested in this class was 13.16, 13.51, and 11.39 horsepower-hours per gallon of fuel respectively. The best tractor in this class, the DEUTZ 6206 (6207), registered respectively 15.34, 15.10, and 14.05 horsepower-hours per gallon of fuel consumed.

When we add to these results of the testing and certification of Romanian tractors by the respected testing institution in question the efforts of the powerful research and production team in this sector toward additional modernization of manufacture, further elevation of the technical and quality level of the products made, and the promptest possible adaptation to world market demands, we may conclude that tractors can and should continue to be a significant part of the exports of the Romanian machinebuilding industry.

In view of the fact that there are still areas around the world in which agriculture is extensive in nature and is marked by a low level of mechanization, there are broad prospects for maintaining and strengthening the current position of tractors in Romanian export supply, as well as in the fierce competition on the world market, and such prospects should be exploited to the maximum.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES AMONG COUNTIES UNDERWAY

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 19, 8 May 86 pp 19-20

[Article by Mihai Grigoriu: "The Harmonious Territorial Development of the Production Forces, an Expression of the Humanistic Character of the Party's Policy"]

[Text] The process of great scope and complexity regarding the harmonious and balanced development of the production forces over the territory has as a basis the profoundly scientific outlook of the Romanian Communist Party, which is consistently and steadily applying in a creative way the laws of the forging of the socialist and communist society to Romania's concrete conditions, and the farsighted thinking of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party and the president of the republic, an eminent personality of the contemporary world.

After the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944, our people inherited not only a very low level of economic and social development but also a territorial distribution of the production forces marked by serious imbalances. Whole provinces like Moldavia, Oltenia, or Dobruja "competed" in backwardness and poverty, and in its great majority, the population was employed in agriculture. Apart from Bucharest, there were few industrial centers on the economic map of the country--Brasov, Ploiesti, Hunedoara, Resita, Cluj, and Timisoara.

The Convergence, at a Higher Level, of the Economic Potentials of the Counties

In keeping with the high aspirations of the order that we are building, the Romanian Communist Party, which is now celebrating its glorious anniversary--6 and 1/2 decades since its founding--putting first and foremost the people's well-being and happiness, proceeded, as far back as in the first years after the liberation, to carry out a vast program for economic and social improvement of the poorly developed areas, gradually providing a rational distribution of the production forces throughout the country. With the country's territorial-administrative reorganization, decided by the national party conference in 1967 and carried out in 1968, this process with political, economic, and social consequences of the greatest significance took on qualitatively new dimensions, with the proper framework thus being created for the equal rights of all citizens of the country, regardless of the place where they live and

work and regardless of nationality, to be based on the solid foundation of growth in the economic potential of all counties of the country.

During the last 20 years, as an expression of the profoundly humanistic character of our party's policy, the whole country's appearance has changed radically, places and destinies of people everywhere have changed, and their way of thinking and acting in order to gain, in a relatively short time, everything of which our ancestors dreamed but which they were not able to accomplish for centuries on end has changed. In the last 20 years, through the construction and startup of tens of thousands of economic, social, and cultural facilities, the number of workplaces has risen nearly 1.8-fold; however, this rise is 2.6-fold in Bistrita-Nasaud, Gorj, and Salaj Counties, 2.5-fold in Olt County, 2.4-fold in Botosani County, 2.1-fold in Vaslui County, and 2-fold in Iasi and Teleorman Counties. Through the rise in the number of workplaces, better and better employment of the work force has been secured, the incomes obtained per family from work have risen, the standard of living and civilization of the working people in all counties and localities of the country has risen, and the phenomena of migration and commuting, with all the implications of a social nature, have been cut substantially.

Today, the country's industrial output in 1965 is achieved in 2 months, that of Vaslui County, however, in only 1 month, that of Buzau County in 28 days, that of Bistrita-Nasaud County in 25 days, that of Olt County in 23 days, and that of Salaj County in only 15 days--data that show conclusively the rate of convergence of the levels of industrial and general development among the counties, as also follows from Table 1.

Table 1. The Grouping of the Counties According to the Total Volume of Economic Activity

<u>Total Volume of Economic Activity</u>	<u>Number of Counties</u>	
	<u>1965</u>	<u>1985</u>
Up to 10 billion lei	21	-
10-20 billion lei	17	1
20-40 billion lei	2	17
40-60 billion lei	1	11
Over 60 billion lei	-	12

The unprecedented scope of the economic development of the counties entailed, as was but natural, the speedup of the process of urbanization and of systematization of the territory and localities and the implementation of an impressive program in the field of housing construction. The concern of the party and state leadership and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally for developing the lagging counties and localities at a rapid rate also stands out in this framework. So, for instance, while the urban population in the country as a whole has risen nearly twofold in the last 20 years, this rise is 2.8-fold in Gorj County, for example, 2.4-fold in Bistrita-Nasaud and Ialomita Counties, 2.3-fold in Covasna and Salaj Counties, 2.2-fold in Arges and Harghita Counties, etc. The population's urban condition of life was extended both through the development of the old urban centers and through the

transformation of 54 rural localities into cities in this period, with the dimensions and attributes of socialist civilization, with the total number of urban settlements now being 237, with a population of nearly 11.2 million inhabitants, which represents 49.3 percent of the country's total population.

Prestigious Achievements on a Social Plane

In the 1965-1985 period, nearly seven times more families moved into apartments built from state funds than in the 1945-1964 period. At the same time, however, the number of families moving into new dwellings is 26 times more in some counties, such as Bistrita-Nasaud, 21 times more in Salaj and Vrancea, 20 times more in Botosani, Buzau, and Covasna, 17 times more in Mehedinti, Satu Mare, and Teleorman, and 16 times more in Olt and Vilcea. At present, every day, over 500 families move into new houses, which demonstrates the party and state's constant concern for doing better and better in the area of housing conditions (Table 2).

Table 2. Significant Developments in the Growth of the Housing Supply

<u>Dwellings</u>	<u>Unit of Measure</u>	<u>1945-1964</u>	<u>1965-1985</u>	<u>1945-1985</u>
Total dwellings,	thousands	2,523.4	3,157.0	5,680.4
including:				
Apartments from the	thousands	335.2	2,321.0	2,656.2
funds of the state				

Along with housing construction, the facilities in the social and cultural field and the municipal administrative facilities were provided accordingly, there being developed and modernized the material base for properly carrying out the activities of education, culture and art, health care, physical education and sports, and tourism and recreation, which confers on all of the working and living conditions in all areas of the country a stable and dynamic equilibrium, which fully reflects the humanistic character of the policy of our party.

In these years--years of a golden age--the material conditions for the unprecedented development of education and scientific research have been provided for the whole country, with the whole population of school age having the possibility of instruction in well-equipped classrooms and laboratories, in university centers that have been expanded, and in localities where once it was not even possible to dream of such a thing. There is at least one high-capacity general hospital in each county seat, the number of medical dispensaries spread throughout the country exceeds 5,700, and the number of places in nurseries and kindergartens now meets almost completely the needs of the population. In fact, there is no place in the country which has not experienced--particularly in the last 2 decades, since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has been at the head of the party--deep economic and social changes for the benefit and happiness of our whole populace.

The successful implementation of our party's policy of harmonious and balanced territorial distribution of the production forces, with the benefits and the

fulfillment of the age-old aspirations of the Romanian people, is all the more meritorious because it occurred not only in a relatively short time but also against the background of an international situation marked by an economic crisis, due to which many developed capitalist countries had a recession. Furthermore, the 13th party congress adopted a new program for economic and social development of Romania on a territorial basis for 1986-1990, which further provides for the continuation of the development of the economic potential of all counties and localities in accordance with the policy of full equality in rights for all citizens of the country. This program constitutes new proof of the consistency with which our party is acting so that the conditions for the formation and affirmation of the personality of all citizens, regardless of nationality, may be created in every part of the country.

Priority for the Elements of Quality and Efficiency

Starting from the major guidelines, from the requirements of the new 5-year period that we have entered, economic and social development on a territorial basis is conceived in terms of a special accent on the new qualitative elements, which involve the substantial growth of the role of the intensive factors of efficiency in all fields of activity. In their turn, of great importance to the counties that have achieved high rates of development of the production capacities in the last 10-15 years is the full utilization of the potential that they possess, through the improvement of the organization and the modernization of production in accordance with the tasks and instructions given by the party leadership--and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally--an action by means of which it is necessary to secure a rise in the output and efficiency of the fixed assets, an increase in the technical and qualitative level of the products, and a substantial jump in labor productivity.

In this framework, it should be stressed that, in the current 5-year period, the obtaining of a volume of economic activity per capita of at least 80,000 lei in all counties, including at least 50,000 lei in industrial output, must be achieved by utilizing with better results, in particular, the technical facilities that we possess in all counties of the country and the creative capacity and revolutionary spirit of the masses of working people in all sectors of activity, so that the entire increase in production in this 5-year period may be achieved exclusively by means of growth in labor productivity.

From the viewpoint of the territorial distribution of the production forces, the current 5-year period means a gradual transition from balance and fairness in developing the counties to the balanced and fair development of the localities within the countries. The Directives of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party and the Directive Program for Developing the Country on a Territorial Basis attach a particular importance to more markedly developing the small and middle-sized cities and to more rapidly improving the quality of the economic and social life of the communes. A highly significant role in this regard will be played by small-scale industry, which, through the units of the artisan cooperative system, of the consumer cooperative system, of the agricultural production cooperative system, and of the people's councils, will have to secure at least a doubling of the industrial commodity output and a minimum level of 8,000 lei per capita by 1990 in all counties. This will lead

to better use of local resources of raw materials and supplies, of recoverable materials, and of the work force.

The priority growth of the number of workplaces in areas with a surplus of resources will help to stabilize the work force and substantially reduce commuting and to improve the general living conditions of the whole population. Through the concentration of attention on the localities in the rural area to a greater degree, through extensive actions to systematize construction, and through the municipal administrative facilities and the new construction of specific dwellings, with household outbuildings, the living conditions of the citizens in the villages will come appreciably closer to those in the cities.

The policy of territorial distribution of the production forces fully reveals its profoundly humanistic character if we point out that, through the rational placement of the new production capacities and of other facilities of social interest in this 5-year period and through the organization of direct connections between the residential districts and the workplaces, the educational, health-care, trade, and service units, and cultural and educational institutions, the population will benefit from better and better conditions for access to economic and social life and from wider possibilities of use of spare time, of improvement in working conditions, and of multilateral affirmation of the personality of all citizens of the country.

In all counties, the incomes of the worker personnel will also rise, with the law on overall and direct piecework pay providing practically unlimited possibilities of earnings in relation to the quantity, quality, and social importance of the work done. The incomes of the peasantry will also rise, as a result of the development of agricultural production and the improvement in the degree of employment of the population in the rural area throughout the year. Accordingly, the purchasing power will increase, the volume of goods that are sold through the trade network will increase, and a substantial increase in the volume of services will be achieved (Table 3).

Table 3. The Development of Services

Services	Growth 1990/1985	Average Annual Rate (%)
Total volume of services, including:	168-176	11-12
Maintenance and repair of electrical and electrotechnical appliances	192.5	14.0
Automotive maintenance and repair	162.5	10.2
Laundries and cleaners	175.1	11.9
Work done to order on garments, footwear, knitwear, furniture	158.2	9.6
Housing construction and repair	168.0	10.9

Through the improvement in the use of the existing material base and the utilization of the natural framework and historical monuments, the activity of tourism and recreation will be expanded throughout the country, with suitable conditions being created for leisure and for use of spare time for the

citizens of all localities of the country. Also in order to improve living conditions, another 750,000 dwellings will be built in the 1986-1990 5-year period, which will cause the living space on the average per capita in cities, together with the outbuildings, to reach 16-17 square meters, there being reduced at the same time the differences between counties in this field.

Our entire populace, fully aware of the efforts that society is making in order to create better and better working and living conditions in all counties and localities of the country, is steadfastly and devotedly engaged in implementing the historic decisions of the 13th congress and in putting socialist Romania among the countries with an average level of economic and social development.

12105

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

SUCSESSES, GOALS IN RAISING STANDARD OF LIVING REVIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 19, 8 May 86 pp 21-23

[Article by Nicolae Ionescu, director general of the Central Directorate of Statistics: "Growth in the Population's Standard of Living--the Supreme Goal of the Party's Policy"]

[Text] The glorious jubilee--6 and 1/2 decades since the creation of the Romanian Communist Party--constitutes an occasion for a balance sheet of the results obtained in the economic and social development of the country and, on this basis, in the growth of the population's material and spiritual standard of living.

The continual growth of the population's standard of living, the improvement of the working and living conditions, the development and full affirmation of the human personality, and the raising of the degree of civilization of the whole populace constitute the supreme goal of the policy carried out by our party and state in the work of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania. "Now," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, stated, "when 65 years have passed since the creation of the Romanian Communist Party and nearly 100 years of existence of the first workers party in Romania, we can state with justified pride that we have a strong, united party, followed trustingly by the whole populace, that our party does not and will never have a higher, more supreme goal than the interests of the people, of their well-being and happiness, of Romania's independence and sovereignty, than the cause of socialism and communism."

In the view of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, promoted with consistency and farsightedness after the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the raising of the well-being of the whole populace and the growth of the degree of civilization and social progress are conditioned and determined by the general development of the production forces, on the basis of utilizing with a high degree of economic efficiency the entire material, human, and scientific potential that we possess. General growth in well-being involves both the satisfying of the requirements of a material nature and the meeting of the whole set of needs of an instructional, cultural, and health nature and of the working and leisure conditions, the housing conditions, and the conditions for passing spare time in a pleasant, instructive, and educational way.

The period of the last 20 years stands out brilliantly against the background of the great results obtained in the 4 decades of socialist development of the homeland, a period inaugurated by the ninth congress, since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has been at the head of the party, a period that is going down in our homeland's history as the richest one in accomplishments, a period that, with deep feelings of love and patriotic pride, our entire populace calls the Nicolae Ceausescu Era.

The permanent and constant concern of the party and state leadership and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally for establishing concrete measures and actions that would help to continually raise the population's material and spiritual standard of living, under the conditions of the general development of the socialist society in Romania, is reflected in the directive programs discussed and approved by the high party and state forums.

Thus, the national party conference in December 1977 discussed and approved the Program for Raising the Standard of Living in 1976-1980, drawn up on the initiative and under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. It should be pointed out that for the first time at a high forum of the party the problems regarding the raising of the population's standard of living appeared as a distinct point on the agenda. At the 12th party congress, in November 1979, the Directive Program for Raising the Standard of Living in the 1981-1985 Period and for Continually Improving the Quality of Life was discussed and approved, and the 13th Congress, in November 1984, discussed and approved a similar program for the 1986-1990 period. In addition, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the session in June 1984, discussed and approved the Program for a Scientific Diet for the Population, according to which the aim is to achieve a scientifically determined diet that would help to satisfy in a balanced way the food consumption requirements, with a view to the harmonious physical and mental development of man, and to maintain his health and ability to work. The providing of a scientifically determined diet is based on the proper development of the production of agricultural and food consumer goods.

In the view of our party and state, the population's material and spiritual standard of living constitutes the direct result of the activity and efforts of the working people--owners, producers, and beneficiaries of all material and spiritual values--of the achievements obtained in the growth of national income and national wealth, with growth in well-being being directly connected with the level of development of the economy in each stage and with the general economic and social progress of the country. The remarkable results obtained in the years of socialism by the Romanian people in the growth of national income and, on this basis, of the population's material and spiritual standard of living are synthetically reflected by the evolution of the following indicators (Table 1).

The basic political choice regarding the utilization of national income, adopted after the ninth party congress, in the sense of assigning a high rate to the development fund, allowed the allocation of the funds needed for carrying out a steady investment program, oriented toward increasing and modernizing the production potential and harmoniously distributing the production

forces over the country's territory, along with providing considerable funds for raising the whole populace's standard of living and meeting the state's general expenses. It should be mentioned that a part of the development fund is for achieving social and cultural facilities that help directly to increase the well-being and quality of life, that is, the funds allocated for housing construction, environmental protection, development of the technical-material base of education, culture, health care, etc. Let us also state that in the 1951-1985 period 5.5 million new workplaces, including 3.4 million in the last 2 decades, were created in the national economy, a fact that eloquently reflects the Romanian economy's upsurge achieved after the ninth party congress.

Table 1. Components of the Development of the Economy and of the Growth in Well-Being

Indicator	(1950 = 100)	
	1965	1985
National income	413	18-fold
Number of worker personnel	203	361
Real pay of worker personnel	226	451*
Real incomes of peasantry**	189	490
Retail sales of goods through socialist trade	459	17-fold
Expenditures for social and cultural actions from the state budget	607	26-fold
School population	177	241
Preschoolers	178	434
Pupils	175	221
Students	246	302
Number of physicians	179	304

* At the end of the year.

**The peasantry's real incomes resulting from work in agricultural production cooperatives and on personal farms, per active person.

The rise in the population's material and spiritual standard of living is being achieved through a set of measures among which an important place is occupied by the provisions on systematic growth in the population's incomes in accordance with the creation of the necessary resources, through growth in social labor productivity and in national income. In the economic strategy of our party and state, special attention is devoted to increasing the direct incomes from work. This is a basic orientation in our party and state's policy of raising the population's material and spiritual standard of living, this having as a main objective the stimulation of the active and conscious participation of all working people in the achievement of commodity production and services. In this way, a direct connection is achieved between personal well-being and the contribution made to the development of the national economy. The incomes of all categories of population from work are achieved under the conditions of balanced shares among different socioprofessional categories, between the incomes of those who work in the nonagricultural branches and of those who work in agriculture, etc. As a result of the measures to increase the pay of the worker personnel, in accordance with the results obtained in the general development of the national economy, the average net nominal pay

rose year by year (Table 2). The year-by-year rise in the average nominal pay occurred under the conditions of the continual improvement of the ways to apply the socialist principle of payment according to the quantity, quality, and social importance of the work.

Table 2. The Level and Growth of the Average Net Nominal Pay

Indicator	1950	1965	1976	End of Year 1985
Average net nominal pay (lei per month)	337	1,028	1,595	nearly 3,000
Growth (%)	100	305	473	nearly 9-fold
Absolute increase in average pay since 1950 (lei per month)	-	691	1,258	over 2,600

Recently, the Grand National Assembly adopted the Law on Overall Piecework Pay and Direct Piecework Pay for Worker Personnel, an important regulatory act--drawn up on the initiative and under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party--which pursues the firm application of the socialist principle of payment for work under the current conditions of development of the national economy and of the continual improvement of the socialist relations of work and distribution. The basic principle of the whole system of payment for work in our country is that the working people's incomes are unlimited both in the case of overfulfillment and in that of nonfulfillment of the plan targets, and in consequence, no one has a guaranteed income, no one can achieve incomes without work.

At the end of 1985, the worker personnel's real pay, which expresses synthetically the pay's purchasing power, was 4.5 times higher than in 1950 and was double that in 1965, it being influenced by the growth in the average nominal pay and by the evolution of the prices of goods and the rates for services within the limits provided by the plan. The incomes obtained by the peasantry from work in agricultural production cooperatives and on personal farms rose as a result of the better organization of the labor of the cooperative members and the more efficient use of the land resources and the material and monetary assets that the agricultural production cooperatives possess, a fact reflected in the growth of vegetable and animal agricultural production (Table 3).

Table 3. The Level and Growth of the Peasantry's Average Nominal Incomes*

Indicator	1950	1965	1975	1985
Average nominal incomes (lei per month)	167	495	990	about 2,000
Growth (%)	100	296	593	about 12-fold

* Average nominal incomes (in money and products) obtained from work in agricultural production cooperatives and on personal forms, per active person.

Within the framework of the complex process of social homogenization that is now going on in our country, an obvious convergence between the incomes obtained by the peasantry from work in agriculture and the incomes of the working people who work in the nonagricultural branches is occurring, with positive influences on the stability and rejuvenation of the work force employed

in this basic branch of the national economy. Thus, the ratio between the average nominal incomes (in money and products) obtained from work in agricultural production cooperatives and on personal farms, calculated per active person, and the worker personnel's average nominal pay rose from 48.2 percent in 1965 to 62.1 percent in 1975, it now being nearly 70 percent. The peasantry's real incomes obtained from work in agricultural production cooperatives and on personal farms, calculated per active person, rose 4.9-fold since 1950 and 2.6-fold since 1965. The incomes obtained from work by small private craftsmen and by professionals who, through their work and that of their families, perform an activity useful to society also rose in the same period.

Along with the rise in the incomes obtained from work (incomes from payment for the work of worker personnel, incomes, in money and products, obtained by the peasantry from work in agricultural production cooperatives and on personal farms, and incomes from practicing a trade or profession), the population is benefiting year by year from higher and higher incomes obtained from the social consumption funds. These incomes come from the funds allocated from the state budget for the financing of social and cultural actions (over 90 percent of the total), from the economic units' funds with a social and cultural purpose (formed within the framework of applying the economic and financial mechanism), and from the funds of the cooperative organizations (UCECOM [Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives], CENTROCOOP [Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives], and CAP [Agricultural Production Cooperative System]) with a social and cultural purpose. The social consumption funds for meeting the population's general needs provide for the matter of developing and carrying out free of charge the entire process of education, health care given to the whole population, the allocation and other aid for children, dignified living conditions for the elderly, etc.

In the 1951-1985 period, the funds allocated from the state budget for the financing of social and cultural actions had the following evolution (Table 4).

Table 4. The Evolution of the Funds for the Financing of Social and Cultural Actions

Years	Funds for Social and Cultural Actions Financed From the State Budget (millions of lei)	Growth (%)	Cumulative Funds in the 1951-1985 Period (millions of lei)
1951-1955	25,239	100	25,239
1956-1960	53,617	212	78,856
1961-1965	90,469	358	169,325
1966-1970	142,547	565	311,872
1971-1975	219,726	871	531,598
1976-1980	312,897	12-fold	844,495
1981-1985	416,582	17-fold	1,261,077

In the total of 1,261 billion lei in funds spent from the state budget for the financing of social and cultural actions during the 35 years of planned development of the Romanian economy on the basis of the 5-year plans, 1,092 billion lei (87 percent of the total) were allocated in the 1966-1985 period, a fact

that illustrates the concern of the leadership of our party and state for the development and modernization of education and health care, the supporting of families with children, and the providing of dignified living conditions for those who contributed through their work to the construction of socialism in our homeland.

As a result of the economic development of the country, the funds allocated from the state budget for the financing of social and cultural actions in the 1981-1985 5-year period were 17 times greater than the funds used for the same purpose in the 1951-1955 5-year period, this demonstrating once again the force and vitality of our socialist economy. Let us also note the fact that the funds for social and cultural actions allocated from the state budget, calculated on the average per capita, rose year by year, from 211 lei per year in 1950 to 1,100 lei in 1965, they now being nearly 4,000 lei.

The educational system has been developed and modernized continually in conformity with the stages and requirements of socialist construction, taking into account the rich progressive traditions of Romanian education as well as the results obtained on a world level in this field. The school population (preschoolers, pupils, and students) at the start of the 1985/1986 school year was 5,592,300 persons, which represents 24.6 percent of the total population, as compared with 2,319,200 in the 1950/1951 school year. In 1950, only 14.2 percent of the country's population was included in a form of education, but, at present, one-fourth of the country's population is studying. The number of children in kindergartens has reached 864,300, and the degree of inclusion of the contingents of preschool children in kindergartens is now 77.6 percent of the total number of children of preschool age, as compared with 27.7 percent in 1965 and 18.6 percent in 1950. Conditions were created in order to go from mandatory elementary education of four and then six grades to the introduction of mandatory education of eight grades in 1961 and to the generalization of mandatory 10-year education in 1976.

The number of pupils in elementary and gymnasial, secondary, vocational, and foremen's education is now 4.6 million, 2.2 times more than in the 1950/1951 school year. We have turned decisively to the introduction of polytechnic education and to the closer and closer connection of education with research and production in conformity with the requirements for developing the Romanian economy. In higher education there are 159,800 students, three times more than in the 1950/1951 university year, in accordance with the need for highly qualified personnel.

Culture and art have experienced a strong upsurge. At present, 154 theaters and musical institutions (as compared with 57 in 1950) and 205 municipal and city houses of culture (as compared with 179 in 1965) are in operation, and the number of patrons at the movie theaters and the installations with normal film has risen 3.5-fold since 1950. The mass media (books, the press, radio, and television) have undergone strong development. In 1985, 3,063 titles of books and booklets were published in a printing of 66.3 million copies, and 482 titles of newspapers and magazines appeared in a printing of 1.39 billion copies, the number of radio subscriptions has risen 8.6-fold since 1950, and the number of television subscriptions has risen nearly eightfold since 1965.

The protection of the population's health, raised to the rank of a state policy, was oriented particularly toward intensifying the prophylactic measures that would lead to the prevention of illness. In 1985, the number of beds for medical care per 1,000 inhabitants was 9.4 (as compared with 4.2 per 1,000 in 1950), the number of physicians was 47,400 (as compared with 15,600 in 1950), and there were 480 inhabitants per physician (1,047 inhabitants in 1950). Steps were taken that would secure the growth of the degree of accessibility of the population to medical care, which is provided free of charge to all citizens of our homeland, and the network of health units equipped with modern apparatus for examinations and for determination of diagnoses as well as for treatment was developed and modernized.

The sums for the state allocation and the aid for children (the aid for mothers with many children, the maternity allowance, and the aid for wives of military personnel on active duty) are paid from the social consumption funds. In 1985, these funds represented 14.1 billion lei, they being higher than the entire fund for social and cultural actions financed from the state budget in 1960. The funds for state social security, of which over 90 percent are for the payment of pensions, rose year by year, from 6.5 billion lei in the 1951-1955 5-year period to 156.3 billion lei in the 1981-1985 5-year period, which means a 24-fold increase. In the last 2 decades, the average pension of the pensioners on state social security for old age and full length of service in work rose from 671 lei per month in 1965 to 1,798 lei at the end of 1985.

The year-by-year increase in the monetary incomes obtained by the population from work and from the social consumption funds has caused growth in the population's demand for goods and services, a fact reflected in the growth of the retail sales of goods through socialist trade. A continual improvement in the supply of consumer goods for the population has been provided by increasing the volume and diversifying the assortment of goods put at the disposal of the population with a view to meeting the consumer demand as fully as possible. The securing of the supply of agricultural, food, and industrial products for the population is occurring in accordance with the growth in agricultural production and in consumer goods as well as with the growth in the contribution of the counties to providing the state supply within the framework of the self-management and self-supply program.

The growth in the population's monetary incomes and in their purchasing power, along with the development, diversification, and modernization of the industrial production of consumer goods, has provided conditions for year-by-year growth in the degree to which the population is supplied with durable goods (Table 5).

Calculated per 100 households, it results that, at present, 85 percent of the households have radios, nearly 70 percent have televisions, 58 percent have refrigerators, 1 in 5 households have clothes washers, and 1 in 8 households have privately owned automobiles.

The improvement in housing conditions, as an integral part of our party and state's policy of continually raising the standard of living and the quality of life, is reflected in the growth of the number of dwellings built in this

period. In 1951-1985, over 5 million dwellings located in municipalities and cities, suburban communes, and communes were built from the funds of the state, of the enterprises, and of the cooperative and public organizations and from the population's own funds.

Table 5. The Supplying of Durable Goods to the Population

(units per 1,000 inhabitants at the end of the year)				
<u>Durable Goods</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1985</u>
Radios	37.4	123.9	206.6	272
Televisions	-	28.8	144.9	222
Refrigerators	0.4	21.3	95.5	187
Clothes washers	0.5	22.9	67.9	134
Automobiles	0.2	1.2	13.7	42

The results obtained in raising the population's standard of living and the quality of life are closely correlated with the level of development of the production forces, with our socialist economy's capacity to solve on its own the complex problems connected with the population's well-being. The provisions of the Directive Program for Raising the Standard of Living in the 1986-1990 Period and Continually Improving the Quality of Life, adopted by the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, constitute a reflection of the results that will be obtained in the future in the economy's general development, on which the growth in the standard of living and the achievement of a new quality of work and life in all fields of activity depend.

12105

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POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARY'S SZUROS DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

AU211552 Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 7, Jul 86 pp 12-20

/Article by Matyas Szuros, secretary of MSZMP Central Committee: "At the Crossroads--(based on the speech delivered for the National Peace Council on 8 May 1986)" in Budapest/

/Text/ Mankind has arrived at a crossroads, due on the one hand to the achievements of science and technology and on the other to its own power of destruction going far beyond anything known ever before. A choice must be made between, on one side, survival and a solution to the agonizing problems of international relations through joint efforts, which would benefit the whole of mankind, and on the other, conflicts, intensifying tensions, and armament, leading ultimately to nuclear annihilation. People today continually repeat the dilemma of Hamlet by talking about cooperation or confrontation, peace or war, existence or nonexistence. ^We, together with all who believe in peace, declare our conviction that providing answers to the vital questions of mankind cannot be the privilege of governments, parties, and official politicians alone. As regards these questions, it is the right, even the duty of peoples, various social groups, and individuals to take a firm position and to carry out definite actions. The answer of people is beyond dispute: honest working people with common sense will cast their votes for life, work, and the human pleasures of festive and work days; in other words, will cast their vote for peace.

One of the historic paradoxes of our age is that while peoples, even the majority of governments, are on the side of peace, on the side of security, the danger of armament and war is becoming more instead of less threatening. Precisely this makes it necessary for people to combine efforts and to put into effect the strength of goodwill and common sense by the means of the peace movement.

What characterizes the mid-eighties is that mankind has to live with anxiety and constant changes of confidence. In international relations growing confrontation and deliberately increased tensions, as well as dependence on each other, the realization of dangers inherent in confrontations, arms limitation, and the settlement of debate international questions by way of negotiations all exist alongside each other. Danger-ridden and hopeful developments alternate.

At the beginning of the eighties international relations became more unpredictable because of the deadlock in East-West relations increasing mistrust, permanent Soviet-American tension, and the accelerating arms race. The dialogues have started again between the two leading superpowers; the dynamic foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the effect of sensible bourgeois political factors, and the continuation of the Helsinki process have created hope for improvement in the international situation.

So far the most prominent East-West dialogue was the Soviet-American summit staged in Geneva last year after a break of more than 6 years. Though there remain differences of opinion among the two superpowers--as regards above all the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative--the fact that the meeting took place at all in such an extremely complicated and tense international situation, is in itself an important matter. The summit helped the leaders of the two superpowers to get to know and better understand each other's stance. In addition, the summit has resulted in important principles and practical agreements laid down in a communique, which point toward the future. It has a fundamental significance, in that, according to both sides, a nuclear war cannot have a winner; neither the United States of America nor the Soviet Union is allowed to start a nuclear or traditional war or wage war against the other; and that neither side seeks military superiority.

In recent months an important contribution to favorable international developments has been the growing foreign policy activity, as well as the flexible and initiating role of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The latest summary of the ideology guiding Soviet foreign policy, its long-term goals and efforts, was made by the 27th CPSU Congress.

One of the congress principles was that the number one challenge of our age is the danger of a nuclear war; hence, the most important task is to maintain peace and consolidate security. On this is based the recognition that the struggle for peace is not a kind of "chemically-pure" process separable from space and time, rather the contrary; it is an integral part of world problems, it penetrates all contradictions of our age, and thus, it also has an effect on the class struggle between the two opposing social systems, which is being fought on the international stage.

It is the requirement of the thermonuclear age to run international life in many respect on new bases and according to new principles. The relationship of the two superpowers, the member-states of the two alliance systems, and countries with different social systems should above all be based on objectively present and constantly increasing mutual dependence as well as on relying on each other, instead of being a confrontation that threatens destruction. Based on an understanding of this, a joint political will may ensure that peaceful coexistence becomes the undisputable and universal law of international relations. Only this will guarantee the assertion of mutual interests connected to the safeguarding of peace and to the solving of growing global problems.

Based on this conviction, in the spirit of the Leninist foreign policy and its traditions, the Congress presented the Soviet people a comprehensive program

whose final aim is to create a world free of mass destruction weapons, a world of stable peace, where all civilized states foster relationships and fruitful cooperation with each other.

Summarizing the statements and the new aspects of the concrete proposals made by the highest soviet, the Congress formulated the essence of the Soviet policy on security in a new fashion. According to the CPSU, in the field of international affairs all states must strive for the realization of a universal system of security based on equal cooperation. The Soviet Union considers those efforts sensible which aim at an optimal and satisfactory security and not at an absolutely maximal one. Thus, it wishes to arrive at such comprehensive solutions in the policy on security which would fully consider the interrelations and the objective and subjective elements of security, as well as the requirements of reciprocity and equilibrium.

The Congress declared: Military means alone are not enough today to bring security. The balance of military power continues to be the basic requirement of security, although a balance on an ever-increasing level of weaponry does not provide a limiting and deterring military and political factor any more. In our age neither a nuclear war nor the arms race can be won. Thus, an acceptable basis for security can only be a balance of power with an ever-decreasing level of weaponry. This way, as a result of a comprehensive disarmament, the military factor could become an increasingly unimportant factor. Security must primarily be guaranteed by political means and should be accompanied by a system of international economic stability and farreaching cooperation in humanitarian affairs.

The identical, mutual, and universal character of this security concept means that the Soviet Union does not require a greater security for itself than for any other country, but it does not accept a lower level of security either. Inequality, namely, will lead to defenselessness and this again to unpredictability. The Soviet Union and the community of Warsaw Pact member-states are shaping their defense policy with the aim of causing no unnecessary fear in others.

A strategically important factor of the Soviet foreign policy is to rely more on the masses' role in shaping policies. It is noteworthy that in addition to world socialism, the communist and workers' movement, as well as the national liberation movement, the fourth basic movement of international progress mentioned at the Congress was the democratic mass movements, including the peace movements and antiwar and antinuclear arms movements. The conference of Soviet communists confirmed that in order to guarantee peace, the joint primary aim, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are prepared to do their utmost to seek new opportunities for the improvement of relations and for cooperation based on equality and democratic principles.

At the 27th Congress a summary was prepared on the previous Soviet proposals for arms limitation and for the strengthening of security and confidence. However, these proposals were not regarded as a system already concluded, but as a plan that consists of interconnecting elements, is open for others' constructive contributions and further initiatives, as well as a plan that provides a basis for further Soviet proposals. The 15 January 1986 comprehensive

disarmament proposal of the Soviet Government was also confirmed, whose aim is to free the world of nuclear arms by the end of the century. The Soviet Union's willingness to negotiate and its intention to build confidence was proved to international public opinion by the fact that the Soviet Union has unilaterally ceased all its nuclear arms testings. The latest extension of this will be in force until 6 August, the anniversary of the atomic bomb attack on Hiroshima.

Recently in Berlin, Mikhail Gorbachev submitted further significant proposals to reduce conventional land forces and weaponry in Europe. This was meant to be an answer to those objections by the West according to which the socialist countries attained superiority in conventional forces, and this is blocking the agreement in the field of nuclear disarmament. The other proposals made in Berlin--simultaneously dissolving the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and dismantling the factories producing chemical weapons--can only add to the strengthening of confidence that is essential for successful negotiations. (The initiative for reducing European conventional land forces and weaponry formed the details of the joint proposal which was published as an appeal after being adopted by the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee at its Budapest session on 10-11 June 1986.)

A peaceful and safe world can above all be achieved by patient efforts, enduring and persistent struggles, and promotions of peace by the socialist countries, the people's masses, and other progressive forces. This is an important requirement, but is not yet in itself enough. According to the spirit of Helsinki and Geneva, the success of our goals also requires sensible self-restraint by capitalist government circles, positive political will, and responsible partnership on their part.

Unfortunately, events in the 6 months since the Soviet-American Geneva summit show that on the side of our main Western partners, above all on the side of the United States, there is none or only a limited measures of goodwill and willingness to agree on arms limitations and handling regional crises. During the months following the Geneva summit, progress was made only in certain secondary issues of Soviet-American bilateral relations. In Geneva it seemed that there was an opportunity to reach an agreement at the Vienna talks on Central European military and arms reduction. Recently, however, progress has slowed as a result of changing tactics by NATO countries.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries had adopted a flexible stance to enable a success at the next all-European closing conference, the Stockholm conference on strengthening confidence and security--prior to November 1986 Vienna talks. Although the representatives of the 35 nations have made progress in the texting, work has slowed down here too, due to the rigid opinion of Western countries. If this tendency continues, it could make the successful conclusion of the conference before fall uncertain.

It is disappointing that the leading circles of the American administration have departed from the principles accepted also by the President, and have, so far, rejected the Soviet proposals, initiatives, and unilateral obligations. Since they do not have any substantial argument to support their refusal, they

regard the peace offensive as mere propaganda, while on concrete questions, they resort to the artificial coupling of objections, senseless demands and requirements, as well as completely incoherent issues.

It seems that the American administration and some of its allies are inclined to see the present situation, the Soviet Union's willingness to negotiate, agree, and accept compromises, as being exclusively the result of their firm stance and the sign of the other's weakness. By continuing pressures and starting a new turn in the arms race involving unprecedented expenses, they think they will be able to force the Soviet Union into further concessions and even cause the farreaching Soviet programs to fail to achieve social and economic development. At the same time they are trying to provoke the Soviet Union by increasing regional crises and taking military actions. The way the American military actions against Libya were received clearly shows that the Soviet leadership is well aware of the "traps" set on the path of peace initiatives.

Based on calculation errors, the extremist circles of NATO continue their efforts to develop new classes of arms and weapon systems, to upset the military balance, and to gain superiority. It is especially dangerous for the United States to continue to insist on its Stars War plans, the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative; and what is more, it is trying--unfortunately not without success--to persuade its allies to participate in the program. In a narrow sense, this plan seeks the creation of a shield, from behind which one could begin a first strike on the other side unpunished and without risking retaliation. The technological and military political feasibility of this aim is by far debatable, but the intention itself to realize the plan could bring about a new and dangerous turn in the arms race.

In the wider sense, the Strategic Defense Initiative, in addition to military considerations, is such a major scientific and technological program that is even qualified to guarantee the United States a general technical and technological superiority over its own allies. Thus, the plan has increased the element of confrontation in international relations even among the capitalist powers.

The American response to Soviet proposals shows that the United States Government is reluctant to accept compromises which are even similar to its own. This is why no progress could as yet be made at the Soviet-American arms limitation talks in Geneva. The American side demands a 50 percent reduction of Soviet medium-range missiles deployed in Asia, but it is not willing to reciprocate with a similar degree of reduction in American nuclear weapons stationed in Japan, South Korea, and on the island of Guam. The United States refused the Soviet moratorium on nuclear arms testing, and moreover, it demonstratively carried out new nuclear test explosions. A ban on nuclear explosions would be the most reliable way of reducing and halting the arms race.

Especially deep worldwide concern followed the military actions that further intensified regional crises. The most serious of these actions was the aggression against Libya. It is well known that the United States, using the pretense of international terrorism, carried out military actions against Libya and an attack claiming the lives of innocent people.

It is noteworthy that the United States has not disclosed any evidence of international legal value which would have justified its statements on the relationship of Libya to terrorism.

The clear and definite stance of Hungary on terrorism is well known. We principally condemn all forms of terrorism, whether it calls upon rightist and so-called leftist arguments, or is manifested by individuals, groups or states. We are convinced that problems among states, of higher social, national or another nature, cannot be solved by the means of terrorism. On the contrary, unjustified terrorist acts that result in tragedies will cause further tensions claiming the lives of innocent people. On whatever pretence they might be launched, we condemn terror-like attacks against independent states. Our opinion is that joint efforts must be made to halt terrorism. Therefore, it is necessary to soon find efficient international political solutions for tensions, conflicts, and problems causing hopelessness among masses of people, because these are the nourishment of terrorism. There is no other way. The Hungarian People's Republic will cooperate with constructive forces against terrorism.

The international atmosphere is poisoned by artificially exacerbated tensions around Nicaragua. The counterevolutionary groups enjoying the support of the United States, have already caused great human sacrifice and enormous financial losses.

Our opinion has not changed, and according to this, it would be futile to attempt to export revolution. However, the export of counterrevolution cannot be tolerated either. Peoples, even in developing countries, must have their own right to determine their social and economic development and to live and work under the leadership of governments chosen on their own. We oppose anybody who violates this right by referring to either global or regional interests.

The Soviet Government, even in this complicated international situation, will not let its calm conduct be disturbed. It will continue to submit new and constructive proposals and be ready to continue the dialogue. For example, according to the Geneva agreement, a new Soviet-American summit should be held this year. Of course, it would not make much sense to stage protocol events disguising the continuation of arms build up. However, if the United States, just like the Soviet Union, would act according to the spirit of the joint Geneva communique, the new summit could bring practical results in the main fields of arms limitation. In any case, it would bring results in two issues, namely, in halting nuclear tests, and in the destruction of American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe.

In times of trial, the supporters of peace have, and must have, enough patience and endurance to constantly strengthen their positions. Today it is especially important for government circles working for peace, the organized forces accompanying social movements, and even the broadest masses of people to make their voices continually heard by exerting both moral and political pressures on those whose sense of reality is as yet overshadowed by profit interests, ideological prejudice, and class hatred.

The peace movement today is a vital and special part of international affairs. In spite of its great ideological and social diversity and because of its joint will to act against nuclear danger, the movement has become an essential factor in the European political scene, which cannot be disregarded by any government or political force.

It is known fact that, at the beginning of the eighties people failed to prevent the creation of a battle class of new American medium-range nuclear weapons, the Pershing II and cruise missiles, and this slowed down the movement's drive. However, all these efforts were not entirely in vain. One of the lasting results of the movement's emergence is that the majority of people on our continent do not at all find it a natural and relaxing situation that security is based on a dangerously high balance of nuclear weapons. Another important result is that the broadest masses of people today demand to have a voice in debating the concepts of security policies, which was previously the monopoly of governments; and one can hardly disregard the opinion of these people.

Because the missile deployments affected the interests of our entire continent, it is of extremely great practical value that the peace movements of East and West Europe develop wide-scale cooperation. The most responsible Western organizations have from the beginning called for cooperation with movements in socialist countries. However, some organizations included among the principles of relations certain ideological elements causing division and opposing the movement's main goals. In this way they have attempted to disrupt the peace movements in the socialist countries.

One has to note in this respect the idea of "keeping equal distance" from the Soviet Union and the United States. Those following this view hold both super-power equally responsible for the acceleration of the arms race and the growing military opposition. However, this approach means picking out the armament issue from its historical background and providing an opportunity to judge individual and definite proposals on merits alien to them. We cannot agree with this. We believe that the peace movements operating in countries with various interests and following different socioeconomic systems, should emphasize the joint elements and should not allow efforts gain ground to cause divisions in and follow aims to cause deviations from the main goals.

Accepting frank and open talks, namely publicity, is one of the fundamental requirements for popularizing the efforts for peace and for getting across their ideas to the broader population. It is an inalienable right of everyone to know and understand what is going on in the world and in the immediate environment. An open and frank dialogue is also necessary because anxiety is spreading among people due to certain consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, which affect our everyday life more and more.

This revolution affects our lives in two ways. On the one hand, it has given mankind new opportunities and means to rule the elements of nature, and on the other, it has opened a new path to further develop mass destruction weapons. Obviously, the solution to the contradiction of this dualism lies in the function of the outcome of the historical battle taking place among social

formations. However, beyond all this, the scientific and technological revolution will cause other problems that all countries must face regardless of their sociopolitical systems.

The peace movement does not continue the traditions of machine wreckers. It approves technological progress, but at the same time, it has to deal with justified and unjustified anxiety in people, whether this anxiety is connected to the effects of nuclear tests for direct military purposes, or to the regrettable effects of a nuclear power station causing damage to the environment.

An important organization of the peace movement with a great past is the World Peace Council /WPC/ embracing the entire planet earth. During its 40 years of history, this council has achieved great results which we can all be proud of. Let it suffice here to mention the response to the Stockholm appeal or the success of the wide-scale action launched against the war in Vietnam. It must also be said that the WPC could not keep abreast of the changing conditions of recent times. Within the peace movement, everybody must realize that in the struggle for peace nobody has a monopoly and the strength of the movement lies in its diversity. Although the WPC remains an important factor, it is only one of the organizations of the peace movement relying on a broad social basis with differing opinions. In view of the Sofia session, we regard the WPC's most important duty to seek further opportunities for cooperation with a greater number of movements opposing war.

Hungarian foreign policy is a committed and steadfast policy of peace. For us it is vital to have a peaceful international environment which promotes the development of mutually advantageous cooperation. Another aim of our foreign policy, also included in the 13th MSZMP Congress resolution, is to create more favorable external conditions for our socialist construction, as well as to contribute to advancing worldwide social progress and maintaining peace.

We are aware that the two superpowers bear a particular responsibility for the international situation. Nevertheless, we are convinced that peace and security are the concern of all countries and peoples in the world. All states are required to make persistent efforts to reduce international tensions. This implies another requirement, namely, that all states--large and small, developed and developing--must participate to a greater extent in creating a system of conditions for peace and security. In the interest of our common goal, the fate of the world, all countries must take a position with joint responsibility by using their ability, opportunity, and the scope of their own foreign policy. According to our experience, the small and medium size countries can fulfill a positive role, especially in safeguarding and maintaining the atmosphere of confidence, which is vital for negotiations and compromise. This spirit leads our party and government in continuing their active flexible, and diverse foreign policy based on reality.

As a member of the community of socialist countries, our homeland actively participates in shaping the coordinated socialist foreign policy, which also serves the general interest of peoples, as well as in the efforts promoting the realization and international acceptance of our proposals.

We have always promoted the efforts to make mutually advantageous cooperation a norm for international relations. Accordingly, and led by the principles of peaceful coexistence, we have paid great attention to establishing relations with advanced capitalist countries and to expanding mutually advantageous economic and other kinds of cooperation. We are conducting constructive dialogues with government circles, as well as with socialist, social democratic, and bourgeois parties. Using our opportunities well, Hungarian foreign policy has in its own way contributed to the fact that here in Europe--perhaps the most important area in international politics--, at the nadir of East-West relations, no irreparable damage was caused to relations.

Our country is strongly interested in expanding wide-scale economic, foreign trade, technical, technological, and monetary relations. Such cooperation does not only create mutually advantageous conditions for domestic development, but it also supports political relations and positively affects the state of the general atmosphere. We attach great importance to the improvement of our bilateral relations with CEMA countries, to equality, to the assertion of mutual advantages, and to the elimination of disadvantageous discrimination. We support the efforts to establish direct relations between CEMA and the EEC.

The basic concern of the Hungarian People's Republic is arms limitation, disarmament, and the reduction of military confrontation. Our political aims include the idea that states should guarantee a balance of power between the military alliances at the lowest possible level. We are for totally reducing nuclear weapons where they are deployed, and for not deploying any in places where none exists. We support the constructive proposals for creating various nuclear-free zones in Europe. Our country fulfills its military obligations for building confidence, which were accepted within the framework of the Helsinki process. We support the initiatives to start direct relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. We agree with the notions regarding the simultaneous dissolving of both political-military groups.

As a people belonging to a rather isolated and small language group, but also convinced of its significant achievements in literature and other fields of art, we have a great interest in expanding cultural relations among the nations and in approaching various cultures that, as yet, are far from each other. This could--as reflected by the Budapest Cultural Forum--promote a better understanding among various states and peoples.

One of the unresolved historical legacies of our region is the nationality issue. In the past 65 years, the fate of our homeland made Hungarians the largest nationality group of Europe. It is an important and special task of Hungarian politics to deal with the people of this group. Understandably, it is in our interest to assert equality, particular care, and extreme patience in nationality policy. Our intention is to see nationalities, due to their dual ties, playing a connecting, rather than a dividing, role in our relations with neighboring countries. To solve inherited tensions and to assert the humanitarian principles in this area is an indispensable condition for improving the political atmosphere not only in our region, but on our entire continent. The Hungarian People's Republic is trying to set a good example by consistently following the principles of this nationality policy, and by implementing it in practice. It is no secret that we expect others to approach the issue in a similar fashion.

In our homeland the shaping of foreign policy and international activity is not only the task of official politicians and diplomats. It is especially true at a time when this refers to our most important task; to strengthening of peace, security, the friendship of peoples, and the good relations among nations. The social and mass movements play a vital role in working for these goals.

With its statements and actions, the Hungarian peace movement has contributed to achieving progress in disarmament and in building confidence. It concentrates its efforts on Europe, but maintains relations with peace movements and organizations of other continents as well. As a result, West European organizations have shown growing interest in Hungary.

The most important domestic task of the Hungarian peace movement is to unite all supporters of peace, reach all strata, groups, and individual citizens of our society, and mobilize more and more people for safeguarding peace. In order to carry out this task, it is necessary for the movement to continue to adapt to changing conditions and constantly improve its methods and means of activity. Referring to our peace movement at home, this includes sincerity and the willingness to be frank.

The Hungarian peace movement's structure is unified, while it is pleasing that its character is colorful. In recent years the movement has undergone a significant change. Its activity is livelier, it uses new initiatives in reacting to changes in international affairs as well as to the growing anxiety and worries of our population, and it relies on people's willingness to act. This revival shows the demands of the individual and the community to play an active part in the efforts to prevent the dangers of a nuclear war.

The United Nations declared 1986 a year of peace. By judging our strength and reviewing the domestic and international tasks in the struggle for peace, this decision has provided a good opportunity to succeed in mobilizing more and more of our compatriots, and involving more and more of our friends abroad in a joint action. If the peace movements and organizations are able to join their efforts with the governments pursuing a peace policy and to stand for great and mutual aims, then 1986 could indeed become an outstanding year of the international peace movement.

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POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ACADEMICAN REVIEWS HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN DICTIONARY

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian No 29, 17 Jul 86 p 7

[Article by Al. Graur: "Our Language: A Hungarian-Romanian Dictionary"]

[Text] The Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House recently put out "Dictionar Maghiar-Roman" ("Hungarian-Romanian Dictionary"). This was compiled for Hungarian students who are studying Romanian in school and need such a source of information to avoid mistakes when speaking or writing Romanian. The dictionary is the work of Bela Kelemen and Lorincz Szasz of Cluj-Napoca. Unfortunately, Bela Kelemen died before seeing it in print.

In 1974 the same publishing house put out a Romanian-Hungarian dictionary by Bela Kelemen.

The Hungarian-Romanian dictionary is very comprehensive: it contains 25,000 Hungarian words and their Romanian translation. The two authors have taken into account the fact that students study various sciences, so technical terms of each specialized field have been included in the dictionary. Those places where a Hungarian word has more than one meaning, or, together with other words, amounts to an expression whose meaning is unusual, are clearly indicated.

Of course, the authors have recognized the need to save space: compound words have not been included if it was clear that they could be understood by translating both components; for example, the Hungarian word "cipogyar" does not appear in the dictionary, because "cipo" is translated as "shoe" and "gyar" as "factory," so it is clear that together these mean "shoe factory."

Likewise, neologisms in use in both languages--"gramofon," for example--are not included in the dictionary. This policy is explained in the foreword edited by Lorincz Szasz.

Space has been saved in other ways too: Hungarian words used also in Romanian have been omitted, for example, "forint," which denotes the main Hungarian unit of currency and which appears in [its] own dictionary of neologisms. In this way, the 25,000 words included in the dictionary exhaust by and large the Hungarian vocabulary. Of course, people other than students can also make use of the dictionary.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY MEETING EXAMINES WEAKNESSES

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 25 Jun 86 p 1

[Unattributed report on the Plenum of the Rayon Committee of the BCP Under the Ministry of Internal Affairs: "The Criteria of the 13th BCP Congress for Individual Political Work"]

[Text] In all its diverse activities, the rayon BCP committee under the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has endeavored to constantly increase the militancy of the PPO [primary party organization], the ideological and professional maturity, the vital position of the communists everywhere and in everything, to explain, mobilize and alert all the personnel of the divisions to unconditionally carry out under the conditions of the complex international and operational situation the urgent tasks related to guaranteeing security and creating exemplary public order in the nation.

Among the rich arsenal of forms and means of indoctrination, the role and place of daily individual political work with the people is moving more and more to the forefront. The plenum of the rayon BCP committee under the MVR held on 19 June was devoted to this eternally pertinent problem and to this fundamental demand of the party by-laws.

The plenum was opened and directed by the First Secretary of the Rayon Committee, Maj Gen Nikola Lalchev. Participating in its work were: the Candidate Member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of Internal Affairs, Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, and the head of the Social and National Security Section of the BCP Central Committee, Col Gen Velko Palin. This high party forum of the ministry, along with the members and candidate members of the BCP rayon committee, was attended by the deputy ministers and chiefs of the central departments of the MVR, the secretaries of the party committees of the MVR Okrug Administrations, the secretaries of the party committees and PPO on direct reporting but not members of the bureau of the party rayon committee, political workers from the UPV--DNM [Directorate of the People's Militia] as well as other divisions and secretaries of the rayon Komsomol committee and Komsomol committees in the central departments and SGU [Sofia City Administration] of the MVR.

At the plenary session the report on the question: "Activities of Party and Official Leadership of the Rayon Party Organization Under the MVR for

Improving the Quality and Effectiveness of Individual Political Work for Carrying Out Official Tasks and Indoctrinating the Cadres" was given by the secretary of the rayon committee, Yordan Tankov.

In taking up the considerations which necessitated a review of this question, the speaker put in first place the circumstance that the plenum was being held in a situation of increased activity by the party and all the people to explain and analyze, assimilate and carry out the plans of the 13th BCP Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress as well as the party's scientific and technical strategy. This requires, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated, "an extraordinarily great rise in the role of the subjective factor not generally but rather in terms of the present-day situation which demands that we bid farewell to the old and master the new."

It was also pointed out that the great the responsible tasks which the party and the state have posed for our bodies at the present stage and their concretizing by the ministry leadership in accord with the operational situation and the main and pertinent normative documents must reach all the cadres more quickly and be analyzed, assimilated and quickly carried out by each communist and official. This is difficult to achieve without constant, purposeful and effective individual political work, particularly bearing in mind that in recent years many young people have entered the various departments of the ministry.

A discussion of this problem was also dictated by the responsibilities which derive for us from the Note of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and from the decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee for waging a decisive struggle against negative phenomena and for instituting the principles and standards of the socialist way of life.

It was emphasized that the Bureau of the BCP Rayon Committee felt it necessary to examine chiefly in practical terms certain key problems in individual political work in the rayon party organization and related to questions which are presently being resolved by the ministry in order that they could be discussed critically and self-critically and take effective measures to decisively raise its role and to increase the political responsibility, vigilance and activity of the cadres in actually carrying out the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress. In this context it was emphasized that individual political work is an effective form of party political support for official tasks and that its main focus and concern are the ideological and professional growth of the officials, the maximum shortening of time required to master the complex and responsible Chekist [internal security], police and firefighting profession and developing and maintaining a competence in the cadres which guarantees results from their independent work.

Along with numerous positive examples, it was also pointed out that there are substantial shortcomings. For example, work is unsatisfactory amongst the laggards, amongst those who work below their capacity. Not enough work is being done with a portion of the middle- and lower-level leadership. The system of individual work is slow in being adapted to urgent official problems and does not help sufficiently in improving the style and methods of work and so forth.

The ideological development and moral improvement of the MVR officials were designated as a primary task in individual political work. Here a positive evaluation was given to the work of the propagandists, the agitator personnel, the party and service aktiv of the divisions with the party secretaries Pisarski and Nikolov, the DNM [Directorate of People's Militia], the Personnel Administration, the GSU [not further identified], the SGU and so forth.

However, the present-day situation requires a decisive rise in the role of individual work in the struggle to create ideological and moral "immunity" among the employees against bourgeois influences and the ideological subversion of the enemy and in the process of individual contact the picking up of the slightest deviations of the employees which can create prerequisites for ideological and political errors.

Today individual political work is confronted with exceptional force by the problem of its influence on the free time of the employees.

The experience of the rayon party organization has shown that in conducting individual political work with the employees, the party committees, the party bureaus and the PPO rely on those who are best trained in ideological-political and professional terms and who have authority in the collectives. However, the bureau of the rayon committee feels that in spite of the achieved results, there is a discrepancy between the great size of the party aktiv and the number of communists who are actually engaged in carrying out individual work. Also underestimated is the importance of the personal example of the solely-responsible leaders and the communists as the most influential means of indoctrination.

The changes which have occurred and the acquired experience in individual political work provide grounds to state that positive changes have come about in its leadership and organization as well as in the approach and style of the cadres and aktiv. Here we should note the growing unity of action between the various units and the greater coordination and teamwork between the individual factors of the political and indoctrinational influence, that is, the official leadership, the bodies engaged in political indoctrination, the party, Komsomol and trade union bodies and organizations. More and more individual work is being concentrated in the party groups. However, at the same time it must be concluded that there is discrepancy between the quantitative parameters of the individual work carried out and the qualitative changes which have occurred in the object of action.

In considering the complex and dynamic situation in which the MVR bodies carry out their social and protective functions, the bureau of the BCP rayon committee feels that in order to bring the personal factor into full accord with the increased demands, it is essential to establish a new political approach, an ideological and moral climate in the collectives, to strengthen the concrete work with the people and change the tone of individual political activities.

There was a lively exchange of opinions on the report and the draft resolutions.

In closing the plenary session, the secretary of the rayon committee, Tsvetko Tsvetkov, expressed the confidence of the bureau of the BCP rayon committee under the MVR that in its future activities the party and official aktiv would more effectively employ the possibilities of individual indoctrination to mobilize the efforts of the personnel to effectively carry out the decisions of the historic 13th BCP Congress.

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BULGARIA

MILITIA DIRECTORATE REPORTS ON ESCAPED PRISONERS

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 25 Jun 86 p 1

[Unattributed article: "At the Directorate of the People's Militia"]

[Text] Recently, a session was held of the DNM [Directorate of People's Militia] Council. Information was heard concerning an incident which occurred among the employees of the escort service under the Sleven Okrug Administration of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] who in escorting prisoners permitted escape.

The information and statements verified that the occurring incident damaged the authority of the People's Militia and shows greatly reduced vigilance. The employees who were escorting the prisoners flagrantly violated the instructions and other documents regulating the escort service, they did not accurately carry out the orders and showed lax discipline and an irresponsible attitude toward the performance of their tasks. All of this was the fruit of poor indoctrinational work and poor oversight.

The council adopted a decision that for the unprovided supervision strict disciplinary penalties be imposed on the appropriate officials while the escort officers were to be turned over to the Prosecutor's Office with the instituting of criminal proceedings.

Also examined was the question of the involvement of the People's Militia bodies in the harvesting and protecting of the crop. It was emphasized that at present we must work at full strength to protect the crop against fires, we must promptly and effectively bring in all the fruit and all the grain to the state storage facilities and to take strict measures against the squanderers and violators of public property. Each employee must make his own specific contribution to the bringing in and safeguarding of the crop.

The DNM Council also assessed the state and work of the employees during the resort and tourist season. It was emphasized that all the instructions must be accurately carried out and that great sophistication, tact and ability must be shown in this regard.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

STRUGGLE AGAINST CONTRABAND, CURRENCY VIOLATIONS INTENSIFIES

Illegal Activities Described

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 25 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Col Georgi Parishev: "Let Us Increase Our Contribution!"]

[Text] The growing economic importance of the state foreign exchange holdings and the fulfilling of the nation's foreign exchange plan increase the socioeconomic value of the social relations involved with the normal functioning of our foreign exchange system and the carrying out of the state foreign exchange monopoly. This determines the greater social danger of any actions which can objectively jeopardize or damage these relations.

In the last several years, particularly in 1985, the operational situation in the area of combating foreign exchange and smuggling crimes was substantially complicated due to the constantly increasing number of foreign citizens coming into or passing through our country. A portion of them did not possess the necessary funds for living expenses, they violated public order and the established passport conditions in Bulgaria. These had a negative influence on certain Bulgarian citizens who became involved in illegal trade, the handling of smuggled commodities and foreign exchange transactions. The object of these activities was the buying and selling of Western currency, gold and gold jewelry, silver, platinum and so forth.

The smuggling of electronic watches and batteries for them and illegal trade of these articles have assumed a particularly large scale. An alarming phenomenon has been the theft and misappropriation of silver and silver nitrate from the state enterprises and organizations. A greater interest has been shown in the Bulgarian lev which also has become an object of smuggling exports. The smuggled articles which are brought in by different ways are sold "wholesale" to Bulgarian merchants who in turn organize their further placement. Similar characteristic instances have been detected by the departments for combating foreign exchange and smuggling trade under the SGU [Sofia Municipal Administration] and the okrug administrations of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] in Varna, Plovdiv and elsewhere.

The operational situation has become particularly complex during the active resort and tourist season. A large portion of the criminally involved persons

has gravitated to the Black Sea coast and other resorts and they carry out illegal currency transactions and profiteering. Persons involved in the servicing of foreign and Bulgarian vacationers are also engaged in the buying and selling of foreign exchange. Bulgarian citizens who carry out this type of deal are acting in an evermore organized manner. This can be seen in the discovery by the economic departments of the MVR okrug administrations in Varna, Burgas, Tolbukhin "Albena" and elsewhere of a group of persons not engaged in socially useful labor and involved in foreign exchange transactions and illegal trade of gold and gold articles.

Also difficult is the operational situation along the main E-80 route over which the main transit traffic passes. The facilities and stores along the road carry out the transfer of foreign exchange, they purchase imported goods and so forth. Measures were taken immediately against this phenomenon. The DNM [Directorate of People's Militia] organized a group with the task of helping the divisions establish the necessary organization for operational servicing of the main route. In the divisions themselves operational workers were assigned for economic and criminal activities and they are employed along the route. As a result of the improved organization, crimes with a value of 1,200,000 leva were detected.

There have been more frequent alerts of foreign exchange and smuggling activities by well organized contacts between Bulgarian and foreign sailors operating the cargo and passenger fleet. Along with everything else, the difficulty of discovering these activities is due to poor cooperation between the economic operational workers of the TM [Transport Militia] and the territorial divisions of the People's Militia, insufficient exchange of information as well as the still unsurmounted "paper mania" in reporting the crimes. In spite of this, the personnel from the TM in Varna and Burgas have discovered instances of illegal trade in gas stoves and equipment imported illegally by unconscientious workers in the maritime fleet.

Recently, the so-called "video business" has become evermore widespread in our nation. This is expressed by the importing from abroad of video equipment, original video films and video cassettes, the organized re-recording and distribution of video recordings and their group viewing in public facilities or in residences. Many video recordings disseminated unofficially have an anti-Soviet and antisocialist bent. They also contain pornography and the propagandizing of violence, cruelty and racism. In spite of the measures taken and the enforceable enactments adopted upon the proposal of the MVR for combating this phenomenon, there still are persons who are engaged in making recordings and selling them. An example in this regard is the aggressiveness with which the okrug administration of the MVR in Burgas has been working to limit the harmful influence of video business.

Also attracting attention has been the illegal trade in numismatic valuables and the attempts to illegally export them from the nation. These are acquired by the cheating of our citizens who are unfamiliar with the actual value of the articles or by theft and misappropriation from various museums in the nation. The work of the economic operational workers in this area is extremely unsatisfactory.

It must be pointed out that as a result of the improved organization of the work and the increased skill of the operational personnel, in 1985 foreign exchange and smuggling crimes with a value of several million leva were discovered. The operational personnel correctly focused on major concealed crimes, they worked actively to investigate the channels of importing and exporting the goods by Bulgarian and foreign citizens and waged a constant struggle against foreign exchange and smuggling crimes.

In order to meet the demands posed in a number of party and state documents as well as documents of the MVR leadership, all possible measures must be taken to improve the organization of work. It is essential to strengthen cooperation between the MVR divisions and between the operational workers in the economic and criminal areas. Cooperation with the courts and the Ministry of Finances must be raised to a higher level and more help sought from the prosecutor's office. Scientific and technical achievements will be employed to a greater degree. The capabilities of the mass information media will be widely employed in carrying out effective preventive work to stop these negative phenomena.

Currency Control Measures

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 25 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Ivan Rogoshev: "Preventive Measures"]

[Text] Thousands of foreign tourists have already arrived in our motherland and they are coming to spend their vacation along the Black Sea or in the cool mountain resorts. The hotels and other facilities of Balkanturist are ready to greet their guests.

One of the tasks of the operational workers in the economic area is to oversee the exchange of foreign currency in order not to allow infractions of the law. For this purpose, meetings, talks and conversations are being held with the managers of the facilities and hotels as well as directly with the exchange workers.

Such are the activities of Capt Vuto Stoyanov from the Stara Zagora Okrug Administration of the MVR. He has drawn attention of the exchange workers at the Vereya Hotel in the city to certain weaknesses committed by them. He reminded them that last summer many exchange bureaus in the nation received counterfeit currency. He warned that those employees would be punished who exchanged currency without issuing a receipt to the foreigners in order to benefit.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PARTY OFFICIAL VIEWS CURRENT PZPR STATUS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Jun 86 p 3

[Interview with Jan Bluszkowski, deputy director of the PZPR CC Political Organization Department, by Krzysztof Mikolajczyk: "Party of Socialist Renewal"]

[Text] Between the 9th and 10th Congresses of the PZPR, thus in a period of almost 5 years, the party has undergone many changes, along with the society and the state. Taking into account the scope and nature of changes, we could even say that this was a peculiar and unprecedented historic period. Jan Bluszkowski, deputy director of the Department of Political Organization of the PZPR CC, discussed this subject with a RZECZPOSPOLITA correspondent.

[Question] What evaluation can be given now to this period of party history? What are the most characteristic features of this period?

[Answer] No historic period can be considered in isolation from the preceding one or apart from the conditions under which it ran its course. Historical process is a result of continuity and change. Discussing a particular stage of history, we should reach out to prior history, look there for the causes of the current conditions and, at the same time, inspiration for further development. Certainly, every period in history has its original irreproducible features. The specific feature of the term now coming to an end was the high intensify of events and facts. They were of a comprehensive nature and involved matters vital to the people, the state and the party. Therefore, the last 5 years should be viewed as a period of qualitative political, ideological, social and economic changes.

[Question] The PZPR made conculsions and ordered its priorities, learning from the crisis of 1980 - 1981. Which ones have been recognized to be fundamental for the party?

[Answer] These priorities follow directly from the effort to overcome the crisis. Restoring the bond with the society, the working class has been the fundamental and most important one. After all, the crisis of 1980 - 1981 was undoubtedly a consequence of the weakening of this bond, a decline in the social trust in the methods and efficiency of solving the mounting problems by the party. In accordance with the will of the 9th Congress, the PZPR has

become a party of socialist renewal. It encouraged the processes of democratic changes and national reconciliation. At the same time, it has been reborn internally and regained its leadership ability. The party remained the same, but it was different. While perpetuating the Marxist - Leninist foundation, the party changed the methods of action. It took care to consistently and permanently increase the influence of society on the actions it undertakes, to solve problems and tasks in the interest and with the participation of the working class and all working people, to introduce democratic changes in the style and forms of leadership and management. The party strove to reinforce the position and importance of representative organs, the Sejm and national councils, and to develop self-government in enterprises and rural areas; it carried out consultations and public opinion polls. The party worked out and perfected political forms and methods of playing its leading role in the society and guiding role in the state.

All these endeavors were aimed at securing social acceptance and support rendered to the party. Now we can say that these goals have already been largely achieved. The society understands the policy of the party increasingly better and takes an increasingly active part in implementing it.

[Question] Against this background, what is the condition of the party itself?

[Answer] In the most general terms, the party has grown stronger, rebuilt itself, democratized internal affairs and reinforced discipline in its ranks. This process is still underway. Party organizations and committees regained organizational efficiency and the ability to exercise political leadership in the milieu of their operation.

[Question] However, it is a fact that the number of party members has decreased...

[Answer]...and nobody is concealing it. However, I would like to stress that not all of those who left turned away from the party, or became its adversaries. Some have simply failed the trial of time, the impact of the merciless pressure brought to bear by political adversaries. Many former party members take an active part in the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], in the reborn class trade unions, in employee self-government; a part of them are currently expressing their desire to return to the party. The PZPR CC has made it known on many occasions that the doors to the party are open for everyone who is genuinely interested in getting involved in implementing its program and proves that in action. The party has also vigorously purged its ranks from fortuitous members, those passive and violating its ideological and organizational principles.

[Question] Has the process of reductions in the numerical strength of the party slowed down?

[Answer] Yes, since the middle of last year the number of party members and candidates has been growing. This is a result of a consistently growing scope of admissions. In 1983, 17,000 candidates joined the party, in 1984 -- 35,000, in 1985 -- 63,000 and in the first 5 months of this year -- as many as 37,000. Workers and peasants, as well as young people, account for more than

half of those joining the party, which is very gratifying. This ensures a slow improvement in the social composition of our party.

[Question] What about the social composition of the party? Does it reflect its class character?

[Answer] First of all, the party must unite the most ideologically motivated, active and socially involved segment of society. On the one hand, we must be a vanguard party, on the other -- a mass party. This is indeed the kind of party the PZPR is. At present, it numbers 2,126,000 members and candidates. It operates in basic socio-professional groups. It unites representatives of all generations of Poles.

Workers account for 38.2 percent of the party membership and peasants -- for 9 percent. Among the professional groups of intelligenzia, engineers, technicians, teachers, economists and employees of the state and economic administration are represented in the party in the greatest numbers.

This social composition of the party shows its class character. It should be remembered, however, that not only the share of the workers in the composition of the party determines its working class character. This was very strongly emphasized by the 16th CC Plenum. The class nature of the party is determined by its program and policy, the influence of workers on decision-making, their genuine and vigorous participation in the bodies of authority of the party and the state.

[Question] In discussing the status of the party, we cannot omit its basic echelons, since in practice they testify to the influence and authority of the party. Is the status of the basic party organizations and their activities fully satisfactory at present, at the time of the 10th PZPR Congress?

[Answer] The 9th PZPR Congress pointed out a need to increase the role of basic party organizations in the life of the party. The party has undertaken actions to this end throughout the entire past five-year period. A majority of basic organizations have regained their strength. They are vigorously working on the problems of their enterprises and social groups.

It should be stressed, however, that in an environment of economic reform the role and position of party organizations in the enterprises and institutions changes. The organizations carry out their leading and guiding function through party members, giving them specific assignments and holding them responsible for execution. Basic party organizations carry out political work with the executive cadres, the teams of party members active in employee self-government, in the executive bodies of trade union and youth organizations etc.

However, not all the basic party organizations have learned this new difficult role. There is nothing strange about it. Such changes do not take place overnight; this is a long and complex process. Proposed additions and amendments to the statute show the significance attached by the party to the role of the basic party organizations. The intent is to define more precisely their tasks in enterprises in the field of influence on the cadre policy,

improvement of efficiency and quality of production, its organization and discipline. Another goal of the proposals is to boost participation of non-party members in the operation of basic party organizations through, among other things, mandatory holding of open party meetings.

[Question] The recent several years have been a particularly difficult and important period for the cadres of the party apparatus...

[Answer] In accordance with the will of the 9th PZPR Congress, party employees serve the party base. The apparatus has been largely replaced and grown younger. Its members are recruited from among the experienced party aktiv, including workers. Political cadres of the party are bound by service regulations. They participate in the system of training and skill improvement. It should be stressed that they belong to the basic party organizations in enterprises, operating primarily in a working class environment.

In the term now ending, the operation of the party apparatus was difficult and significant indeed. It was subordinated to the goals of rebuilding the strength of the party, increasing efficiency of operation in its echelons and organizations, and reinforcing the link of party leadership with the basic party organizations.

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POLITICS

POLAND

MILITARY DELEGATES TO PZPR CONGRESS REPORT BACK TO AKTIVS

Uzycki at Armed Forces General Staff

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by (tf): "At the Armed Forces General Staff"]

[Text] Member of CC PZPR, Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, deputy minister of national defense Gen. Arms Jozef Uzycki attended a meeting following the adjournment of the 10th PZPR Congress. Proceedings of the congress have aroused lively interest of personnel and civilian employees. Gen. Div. Mieczyslaw Dachowski, a delegate to the 10th Congress, also attended.

The Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff reviewed in broad strokes the ideological, political and organizational issues brought up at the congress. He stressed that the profound innovative ideas contained in the report of Gen. Arms Wojciech Jaruzelski, the sincere, critical and constructive discussion, the ambitious but realistic program for the socio-economic development of the country in 1986 through 1990 and on to 1995 as well as the adoption of the PZPR program all testify to the outstanding importance of the 10th PZPR Congress.

Comrade Jozef Uzycki stated that the issues of defense capability and the armed forces have been reflected at length in the report and speeches of military delegates as well as in the resolution. The election of many military men to party leadership also testifies to the significance of the issue of national defense. Gen. Arms J. Uzycki stated that consistent implementation of the resolution of the 10th Congress lies ahead, which calls for the dedication and vigorous work of all party organizations and every party member.

Gen. Div. M. Dachowski also met with members of his basic party organization.

Szacilo at Main Political Administration

Warsaw ZOINIERZ WOJNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by (AF): "At the Main Political Administration of the Armed Forces"]

[Text] Members of the local party organization elected delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress met with their fellow servicemen and employees. A delegate of the 10th PZPR Congress, Chief of the GZP [Main Political Administration] of the Armed Forces, Gen. Div. Tadeusz Szacilo was the first to share his post-congress thoughts with the cadres of the GZP and institutions reporting to it. He attempted to draw a preliminary balance sheet of achievements, describe in detail the nature of this highest forum of Polish communists and define its present and future role in the history of our party.

Gen. Div. Tadeusz Szacilo pointed out the highlights of the congress which made it important both to the entirety of intraparty activities and in the national and international dimension. The general stressed that the achievements of the congress are the joint work of more than 2 million party members, as are all fundamental resolutions adopted by the 10th PZPR Congress.

Stressing the typically working nature of the congress, chief of the GZP noted the objectivity, critical openness and sensitivity to the issues of today and tomorrow.

Gen. Div. T. Szacilo emphasized that the recent congress was not only a forum of hope, but also a turning point in the process of changes in Poland. This is expressed in, among other things, the long-range party program, the first document of its kind in the PZPR history. The congress discussion was dominated by economic issues. This has made it possible to work out the strategy and tactics of leading the country out of the crisis and onto the path of accelerated development.

The general stressed that the 10th Congress reaffirmed the policy of reconciliation and struggle, noting that both elements of the social activity of the party have assumed new dimensions.

The chief of GZP also gave a preliminary evaluation of the participation by the party aktiv of the armed forces in the pre-congress campaign and the activities of military delegates at the 10th Congress. Addressing all fellow servicemen and employees, the general pointed out the current priorities in post-congress tasks in the ideological, indoctrination, party and political work in the Armed Forces of the PRP.

First Deputy GZP Chief Rear Adm. Ludwik Dutkowski also responded to the questions from the floor.

Delegates of the 10th PZPR Congress Gen. Bde. Tadeusz Kojder, Col. Prof. Dr. Mieczyslaw Michalik, Col. Zdzislaw Jatczak and Cpt. Zbigniew Ciereszko, as well as guests of the congress Gen. Bde. Prof. Dr. Leslaw Wojtasik and Gen. Bde. Albin Zyto also took part in the meeting.

On behalf of the audience, first secretary of the GZP party committee Col. Ryszard Maluta congratulated the newly elected members of central party authorities and assured them of a continuing involved attitude on the part of the party members in the GZP and institutions reporting to it. This attitude will determine whether the 10th PZPR Congress indeed becomes an opening for a better tomorrow.

Oliwa at Quartermasters HQ

JPRS-EER-86-130
26 August 1986

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOJNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by (AN): "At the Quartermasters HQ of the Armed Forces"]

[Text] A delegate of the 10th Congress, Chief Quartermaster of the Armed Forces, deputy minister of national defense Gen. Div. Wlodzimierz Oliwa met with the party aktiv and representatives of the personnel of the headquarters, services and subordinate institutions.

Sharing his personal thoughts and observations made at the highest forum of Polish communists, he emphasized the singular significance of the speech made by Secretary General of CC CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev at the congress. The general also gave a detailed review of participation by military delegates in the proceedings of the 10th Congress.

Discussing selected statements from the CC report, the chief quartermaster concentrated on the need to work persistently on all tasks facing the party and on persistence in every action undertaken so that the intended goal is achieved. Resolving the most acute issues (foodstuffs, housing, education, health care and natural environment) and just distribution according to the results of one's work will be helpful in modernizing the economy, developing improvement and innovation activities and increasing the participation of young people in all spheres of life.

Gen. Oliwa outlined the course of discussions and proceedings in working commissions. He gave special attention to the issues of housing, stressing that, apart from their discipline and operations management, the armed forces experience painfully the same difficulties and problems as construction in general, for example, the lack of building materials, and especially cement, lack of funds for repairs etc.

The general familiarized the audience with some statements from congress resolutions and on that basis set the main tasks for the cadres of quartermaster's services.

Nowak Meets Scientists, Engineers

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOJNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by (AN): "At the Technical Services of the Armed Forces"]

[Text] A delegate of the 10th PZPR Congress, Chief Inspector of Materiel of the Armed Forces, deputy minister of national defense Gen. Div. Zbigniew Nowak met with the party and service aktiv of central technical institutions.

The goal of the meeting was to convey to the audience the most vital issues for the country and the party which were discussed at the plenary sessions and in the working group "Science, Technical and Organizational Progress in the Service of National Development."

Discussing the course of the proceedings and responding to questions, Gen. Z. Novak outlined the political, economic and social targets of the PZPR program as well as the environment shaped by the situation and socio-political consequences of the past 5 years. These consequences were also reflected in the proceedings of the working group which, responding to the social need, considered the issue of accelerated development in the field of science and scientific-technical progress and detailed the tasks of the party in this sphere for the 1980s and for entry into the 21st century.

The acceleration of economic development envisaged by the party, said the general, calls for changes in the mind set of the members of the party and population at large and profound qualitative shifts in the entire sphere of production achieved through higher efficiency of management. He also referred to a need for activity in service and in party work by the personnel of central technical institutions in order to reach the targets set by the PZPR program.

Armed Forces Training Managers Briefed

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOJNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by (Ry): "At the Main Directorate of Combat Training of the Armed Forces"]

[Text] A delegate of the 10th PZPR Congress, Gen. Arms Dr. Wojciech Baranski shared the still fresh observations, thoughts and atmosphere of the congress days at the meeting with the personnel and civilian employees of the Main Directorate of Combat Training of the Armed Forces.

In his statement, the general stressed the remarkable objectivity, constructive and creative character of motions and amendments to the congress documents and resolutions made by the delegates at plenary sessions and in commissions. After all, the final wording of the resolution of the congress was adopted after its fifth version was prepared and comments of 1.5 million party and non-party members were taken into account. This testifies to the remarkable involvement of the populace in issues of most concern to it, primarily the socio-economic development of the country until the year 2000, democracy and the rule of law.

The resolution adopted by the congress will be implemented with outstanding drive and persistence, especially in the armed forces, in individual services, at every post and on every job. The content of the resolution must be

translated into the language of everyday practice, of training days, months and years, so that the soldier's work and effort bear fruit through improving combat readiness, the efficiency of operations by command and party echelons, the vitality of party organizations and strengthening the bond with the populace.

JPRS-EER-86-130
26 August 1986

Silesian Military District

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by (SR): "In Lower Silesia"]

[Text] The club of the Silesian Military District was one of many places where military delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress attended meetings. Numerous career officers, civilian employees of the Wroclaw garrison headquarters, soldiers in basic military service and officer cadets gathered in the festively decorated hall. The delegates appeared, including, among others, Commander of the Silesian Military District Gen. Div. Jan Kuriata.

CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] member Col. Stanislaw Grzasko told the audience about the atmosphere of the proceedings of the 10th PZPR Congress and the role of military delegates in the work of commissions and working groups.

A CC PZPR member Gen. Bde. Dr. Zdislaw Rozbicki talked about the wealth of political, party and economic thought generated by the 10th PZPR congress which was prepared by the entire party.

In his turn, Gen. Div. Kuriata devoted much of his statement to the conclusions suggested by a working group in which he participated on the development of socialist democracy, reinforcing the rule of law in the state and combatting social deviance. These conclusions will be used in everyday activities in units and small units. The commander of the military district also stressed the highly positive evaluation of the activities of the armed forces between the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses, including their involvement in economic activities of individual provinces.

Delegates of the 10th PZPR Congress also met with the tank unit at Gubin and with the soldiers of the mechanized infantry unit which several months ago appealed to all soldiers of the People's Armed Forces for honoring the 10th Congress with exemplary service and social work.

Air Force HQ Meeting

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by (wier.): "Meeting with the Pilots"]

[Text] Air Force delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress are now taking part in meetings with their fellow servicemen. One of the meetings was held at the

Air Force Command with the participation of career officers and civilian employees of the organization. Among others, Gen. Div. Tytus Krawczyk attended the meeting.

In his speech, comrade T. Krawczyk conveyed his personal impression of the several days of congress proceedings. He stated that they were marked by fairness of evaluations made and realism of decisions concerning the past of the party and the country. There was no lack of critical remarks in the plenary discussion and in the proceedings of working groups, thus proving clearly that the party is not losing its sharp perception of Polish realities, that it is striving to eliminate shortcomings still present.

As the participants of the meeting stressed, numerous foreign delegations, including that of the CPSU led by Mikhail Gorbachev, attending the proceedings testify to the growing prestige of the PZPR in the international communist and workers' movement. The speech of the secretary general of the Soviet party was met with total approval, as was the speech of the First Secretary of CC PZPR, Gen. Arms Wojciech Jaruzelski. The decisions contained in the latter and in the resolutions of the congress must be persistently translated into everyday practice and adjusted to the specific needs of every party echelon and organization in the Air Force.

Meeting at Warsaw Garrison HQ

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2

[Unattributed article: "At a Unit of the Capital City Garrison"]

[Text] Delegates to the 10th Congress First Secretary of the PZPR committee of the IC MON [Headquarters' Offices of the Ministry of National Defense] Col. Zdzislaw Jatczak and Col. Tadeusz Makarewicz met with the soldiers of a unit of the capital city garrison.

During the meeting, comrade Z. Jatczak emphasized the goals set by the highest party forum in streamlining the operation of the economy. He also noted that specific critical speeches at the congress will serve to improve and enhance the methods and style of operation of the party administration and social organizations, efficiency of management and personnel policy. In the opinion of all delegates, participation by over 100 foreign delegations in congress proceedings and the fact that the latter were commented on by all largest news services were of great importance. This shows the ever increasing interest in the world in the issues of our country and our party.

First secretary of the PZPR committee of the IC MON discussed the tasks which party echelons and organizations now face in improving the forms and methods of party and political work in light of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress. In his turn, comrade T. Makarewicz noted that wider issues involving the entire party which were brought up in the plenary discussion and in working groups inspire the delegates to convey the conclusions giving direction to all service and party elements. After all, the most important task for today is to bring out in every party member, in all social groups, including the military, involved attitudes, a feeling of responsibility, innovative approaches to the tasks assigned and persistence in solving them.

POLITICS

POLAND

SEJM DISCUSSION ON LABOR CODE DRAFT

Union Position on Code Defended

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jun 86 p 3

[Statement from the floor by Sejm Deputy Alfred Miodowicz (PZPR), in response to the first reading of the Draft Amendments to the Labor Code as presented by St. Gebala, minister of labor, wages and social affairs, before a plenary session of the Sejm on 19 June 1986]

[Text] For months, I have been taking part in talks with the government on collective bargaining. These have been hard talks, they have been businesslike and only at times emotions got the upper hand over reason. The trade union movement is satisfied by the very fact that the Sejm embarked on the discussion of this law. The overall structure of the draft is in keeping with the expectations of the trade unions; it has been prepared jointly. The views of the two sides are similar as far as the two-stage model of collective bargaining is concerned, whereby branch contracts would provide the framework and enterprise contracts would acquire fundamental significance. We have also come to an understanding, said the deputy, as to the sides signing the contract, financing its consequences (from the financial resources of the enterprise rather than subsidies) as well as to extending the provisions of contracts to retirees and annuitants.

The deputy took issue with the statement that the trade union concept of collective bargaining supposedly runs counter to the principles of economic reform. After all, enterprise agreements are the centerpiece of this concept; they must meet the expectations of workforces, but only within the framework of enterprise self-financing. The government draft devotes too little attention to the issue of such agreements.

Likewise, the incorrect view prevails that the trade unions are striving to dismantle enterprise remuneration systems. After all, they ratified the systems themselves and they could simply terminate them if they found a better concept. Critical evaluation by the trade unionists of the mode of introducing these systems and of certain specific arrangements is a different issue. Also, during this discussion an attempt was made to set trade unions against employee self-government. Meanwhile, declared deputy Miodowicz, from the very outset the reborn trade union movement has been interested in

strengthening the position of employee self-government and has never questioned the provisions of the law on self-government.

Many differences remain between the government and trade union concepts of collective bargaining. They must be thoroughly considered in the businesslike discussion in the Sejm and the Socio-Economic Council. However, statutory guarantees of minimum enterprise benefits in contracts and enterprise agreements are a matter of fundamental importance to the trade unions. The feeling of social security of employees and labor veterans overwhelmingly depends on the stability of arrangements in this field. Also, the trade unions take a different view of the proposed jurisdiction of the center and especially the powers of the minister of labor. The trade unions believe that nothing should be introduced into the law that could restrict the independence of enterprises and branches.

'Sensational' Attention to Code Criticized

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jun 86 p 3

[Statement from the floor by Sejm Deputy Andrzej Polok (non-party member) in response to the first reading of the Draft Amendments to the Labor Code as presented by St. Gebala, minister of labor, wages and social affairs, before a plenary session of the Sejm on 19 June 1986]

[Text] It is unfortunate that a sensational atmosphere of sorts surrounds the discussion on the new draft regulations, so eagerly anticipated by the workforces, stated the deputy, as if it were to be a trial by fire of the reborn trade union movement. In this weighty matter, further quiet, deliberate and businesslike discussion is needed not only in the interest of employees and enterprises, but also of enterprise trade union chapters and entire trade union movement.

It is believed, indicated the deputy, that enterprise workforces primarily expect the law to provide for salary increases and the affirmation, if not the expansion, of existing privileges and already secured benefits. Meanwhile, it is quite frequently heard that the law must protect not only the employee but also the interests of the enterprise which is often helpless in the face of spreading idleness and swindling born and nourished by our mundane enterprise reality. After all, this damages the interests of the hard and honestly working segment of workforces.

It is difficult to tolerate any longer that the value of work depends not on its result, but on the time and place the work is done. Will the discussed draft law be able to bring to an effective end the long-standing degradation of the system of norm-setting and pay schedules and the not altogether justified salary disproportions in individual branches and enterprises? As the workforces and enterprise trade union organizations perceive it, this situation contradicts the concept of reform and the incentive function of wages.

The proposed changes in the Labor Code will be of great importance to future facets of the economic reform. They reinforce the position of the enterprise

trade union organizations, their supraenterprise structures and employee self-government. They take into account the basic principle of reform tying the remuneration and other benefits to the previously generated funds needed for that purpose.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

SEQUENCE OF UNPUBLISHED OPEN LETTERS ANALYZED

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 86 pp 11-13

[Article by Aleksandar Cvetkovic and Momcilo Petrovic: "Letter to the Revolution: There Is No One To Answer the Letters From the Generals"]

[Text] Wife: Did anything come?

General: No, nothing.

Wife: Perhaps the mailman has not come yet....

General: Yes, he has.

Wife: Perhaps there will be something tomorrow....

General: Perhaps (a dialogue that has been going on for 40 years).

They did not resort to the tried and true remedy for insomnia caused by concern for the good of the people. They did not appeal to the protective clause about "disturbing the public," but they might have.

Probably that is the least they could have done for a wartime comrade. Thanks to a moment of weakness, the entire Yugoslav public learned what he thought about them and about the common ideals--which he had given a reasonable (?) time of 40 years to be realized at least in part.

Up until his last sigh he was addressing himself personally and in letters to fellow fighters about his disagreement with what they were doing or allowing to be done.

"So long as conditions allowed, I expressed this on several occasions in attempts to bring about changes for the better through my own modest contributions. This has been done for years, much more than by me, by an entire pleiade of various scientists and specialists, intelligent and honorable Yugoslavs. All of this has been turned back and is today being turned back by the barriers of various nationalists and separatists, deformed 'politicians,' authentic medieval princes and Turkish Army commanders who have cut Yugoslavia to pieces along all lines, blinded by their power and the narrow interests of their nationalities."

Did he complain when the executive secretary gave him the message, without having heard him out: "Comrade...cannot receive you. Call again on the 13th. Do you have any message for him?"

Or when he became "annoying," it was in person: "We are the ones giving the orders today!"

That day, 7 April, Ljubisa Veselinovic, commander of the 2d Proletarian Brigade, joined the fallen liberators of Belgrade.

A letter addressed to the chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee was left on the seat of the car.

We Had Hopes....

The publication of this letter sets a precedent. Even before pale photocopies of letters addressed to the highest government and political bodies had made the rounds among the "well-informed." The names of the signers were well known to the readers both from history and from the daily press. They were passed from hand to hand, accompanied by mention that they "were to be handled with care," but nevertheless in a short time they did reach all those who regularly read newspaper reports from various meetings. They were read precisely because in their attitudes and style they were a refreshing break in the monotony and unanimity of the reports referred to, and the manner and extent of their circulation inevitably recall the phenomenon of the "samoizdat" in the countries of real socialism. They were read by everyone except those to whom they were addressed, judging at least by the behavior of the addressees. Yet when the prestige of the senders was such that it was not possible to ignore him, then the letters were answered with arguments in public, but the content of those letters was not communicated to the public.

In October 1984 the Association of Veterans of the Spanish Civil War sent a letter from its regular annual assembly held in Sarajevo to the LCY Central Committee. The newspaper reports were written in such a way that the average reader could only conclude that this was a telegram of greetings. If POLITIKA EKSPRES had not published parts of that letter (the type of the newspaper STUDENT in Belgrade, which had intended to publish the letter in its entirety, was broken up in the print shop after the editor-in-chief had a talk with the "persons in authority"), that is the way matters would have stood. But everyone who had been keeping his own counsel felt it his duty to possess at least one photocopy. The feelings with which the letter was read were complicated, but it was not difficult to assume that there was also malicious pleasure in thinking about the moment when the mailman delivered the letter to those to whom it was addressed.

And the Spanish volunteers wrote as follows:

"...We had hopes that our latter years would bring us a sunset. For a long time now we have been witnesses to things taking place in social relations which are coming into ever more pronounced conflict with our convictions and conceptions. The unreasonable departure from the direction plotted by our war

and revolution is becoming ever clearer. Today we already face the critical situation of a comprehensive economic, political, ideological, and moral crisis...."

"Time has imposed an imperative need:

"First, to convene an extraordinary congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. At the congress a reasonable and courageous analysis would be given of the ideological, political, social, economic, ethical, and cultural aspects, in short, all aspects of the situation that has come about, and clear guidelines would be defined for the overall activity of members of the League and individual citizens so that the newly stated policy would eliminate deviations in development of social relations and would safeguard the continuity of a consistent revolutionary course....

"Second, the time until the congress would be used for the broadest public discussion, for free human thought, without a priori exclusiveness and any sort of name-calling, in an exploration for answers as to how to resume the interrupted currents of a revolution which placed Yugoslavia in the focus of the world public, how to restore the lost place and reputation....

"Third, time must not be lost in correcting the deviations and baneful effects which have become so obvious and flagrant as to cause an unjustified public unrest. The people who committed the major political and economic mistakes must be made accountable in political terms...."

Today, in the year that marks half a century since the departure of the first members of the International Brigade to Spain, the veterans of the Spanish Civil War are not anxious to talk much about the events back in the fall of 1984, especially since time has confirmed many of their positions. But bitterness remains because of the humiliating official talks with certain members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee in which they had to prove their loyalty to this country. It was imputed to them that through Reuters, whose correspondent was following the proceedings of the Assembly, they had addressed the foreign public, that the letter was related to the beginning of the "trial of six dissidents," and the phrase about "an attempt to establish a relation of partnership with the LC" was even reiterated. They were told: "Why do you insist on an extraordinary congress? This is not Poland." "When the situation gets like it is in Poland, it will be late," answered the members of the governing board of the Association of Veterans of the Spanish Civil War.

Even after these talks the letter was not published, although all three living commanders of wartime armies, Koca Popovic, Peko Dapcevic, and Kosta Nadj, also expressed their agreement with it.

For Expulsion....

At a meeting of the veterans of wartime brigades from Kosovo and Metohija living in Belgrade, which was held on 25 April of this year, following a heated discussion resolutions were adopted by a large majority of the 700 people

attending that would be delivered to the republic, provincial, and federal committees of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia (SUBNOR).

The resolutions, running to 21 points in all, expressed support for the new views and measures of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the State Presidency of the SFRY, the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, and the Kosovo Provincial Committee of the LC, oriented toward more rapid differentiation and stabilization in Kosovo, with a clear desire that they be more directly involved in social currents than they have been up until now.

And they demanded indispensable practical steps in that direction:

- a. that the Assembly of SAP Kosovo revoke all the decisions and acts passed at the conference in Bujane on 2 January 1944 in one of its next meetings, before the annual vacation. The Bujane conferences were the point of departure for Enver Hoxha and his heirs in their fight against Yugoslavia's integrity, and it is likewise a point of support for the community of Albanian political emigres;
- b. that the nomination of Ilija Vakic as a member of the Federal Executive Council be withdrawn. After Veli Deva, Ilija Vakic was the most active in driving the Serbs and Montenegrins out of the party active in Titova Mitrovica, in driving more than 300 of the most responsible people out of the Trepca Mines;
- c. that the nomination of Svetislav Dolasevic as president of the Assembly of SAP Kosovo and member of the LCY Central Committee be withdrawn. In his recent speeches he has fallen to the positions of the separatists and has been repeating their views word for word;
- d. that Fadilj Hodza be expelled from the LC. He was a good commander of the "Emin Duraku" Detachment. He was unsuccessful as the commander of the operational headquarters of the National Liberation Army and Partizan Detachments for Kosovo and Metohija, which is why on 8 February 1945 he was removed by Comrade Tito, commander-in-chief of the Supreme Command of the National Liberation Army and Partizan Detachments of Yugoslavia. Fadilj Hodza was the chief organizer of the conference in Bujane and was the person most responsible for the renegade Saban Poluza having obtained authority from the operational headquarters to carry out the mobilization of personnel. That gave him the possibility of bringing 10,000 Albanians, deceived and seduced, into combat against the Partizans;
- e. that the nomination of Ismail Bajra for president of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of SAP Kosovo be withdrawn, since he is one of the principal ideologues of the policy that has failed in Kosovo and an advocate of separatism;
- f. that criminal proceedings be instituted against Ali Hadri, Bajram Bitici, Ismail Bajrami, and that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs discover the foreign sources financing the immense financial resources to purchase real estate from Serbs and Montenegrins;

g. that a government commission be formed to investigate the political and criminal responsibility of all leaders who brought about the difficult situation in Kosovo;

h. that the Kosovo Provincial Committee of the LC and government authorities in Kosovo adopt a decision on rehabilitation of personnel in Kosovo: Jovo Sotra, Kadri Reufi, Miso Sekulovic, and others who pointed out the danger of the counterrevolution and took the consequences for doing so.

The veterans also proposed that out of the portion of the resources allocated from the Federal Fund for the Underdeveloped earmarked for Kosovo a percentage be fixed by law to build projects in villages inhabited by Serbs and Montenegrins in order to prevent a further exodus.

A telegram of greetings was sent from the meeting to the Electoral Assembly of SUBNOR of Kosovo, which was being held the same day. Letters were also sent to Mihailo Svabic, chairman of the Federal Committee of SUBNOR, and to Branko Mikulic, who has been called upon to form the new government.

The veterans were embittered by the games played with a number of participants of Albanian nationality in the National Liberation Struggle. They say that history has been heedlessly falsified and that today they are receiving requests for recognition of veteran status giving the "company" in which the applicant fought. And it is well known that there was no such unit in the military organization of the Partizans. Is this ignorant or an arrogant provocation?!

(A curious detail: The views of the meeting held 12 December were not published anywhere, even though the veterans of Kosovo and Metohija even paid the salary of certain newsmen if they should have been suspended for the publication.)

Extradition of Kurt Waldheim

Commenting on the phenomenon of the letters which veterans have been sending to various addresses hoping to arouse broader social interest, when almost never have they received even a formal reply, Pero Lalovic, member of the Presidium of the Belgrade City Committee of SUBNOR, said in a state of evident excitement:

"It is natural for veterans to take more seriously the difficulties in a society which they have created with their blood. I have been openly critical on several occasions, but never have I received a reply. I would have been happy if my party had called me to account, since that would have meant that I was not right. But nothing happened.

"I will vote against all those who have compromised themselves. If anyone reproaches me for threatening the continuity of the revolution, I will say that that is not the case. I want to threaten the continuity of selfishness, irresponsibility, self-satisfaction, and conceit!"

Stevo Basic, secretary of the Commission for Petitions and Proposals of SUBNOR, says: "Distinguished individuals do not complain to us, they have worked out all of their problems. We receive complaints from poor people who are semi-literate. Just the day before yesterday we received a request written by Cveta Maricic on behalf of 3,000 victims of the fascist terror in Kordun, demanding extradition of Kurt Waldheim for war crimes. We forwarded the request to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. What they do does not depend on us."

In the fall of 1984 yet another letter aroused the public. Gojko Nikolis, holder of the Order of National Hero, member of the academy, colonel general (retired), winner of the NIN Prize for Journalism, addressed a letter to his basic organization of the LC to which he appended his party membership book. After 50 years as a member.

"On the basis of everything presented I have come to the conclusion that for me personally, i.e., for my ideological conviction, the conditions no longer obtain within the present LCY for me to be able to assert that conviction in any manner whatsoever without exposing myself at the same time to low blows."

And the case he presented was this:

"I feel that a government which is strengthening its hold on people and letting control of things slip from its hands is not a good one, if we wish to abide by historical materialism, then we ought to turn toward things with all our strength;

"Among the mistaken investment projects there are some which simply astound one with the absence of normal good sense. I am convinced that the ordinary good sense of the peasant, if it had been asked and listened to, would have given a timely warning as to what should and what should not be done, a council of peasants, good farmers, one from each republic and province, called ad hoc, not as an institution in offices and official positions, could have averted many of the misfortunes and would have brought incomparably greater benefit than all the councils of the Federation and the republics, which incidentally serve no purpose and are not responsible for anything, but they represent quite a large financial burden.

"The exploitation of the working class on behalf of the administration and bureaucracy, which are a cancerous growth, the devaluation of labor and the practice of idleness, speculation and corruption, as though they had become the greatest civic virtues--the invasion of careerists and newcomers to the LCY--all of this is jeopardizing the foundations of our existence and defensive capability."

The Writing Is Exotic

In his letter Gojko Nikolis concerns himself with the question of the opposition (his opinion on the trial of Vojislav Seselj differs diametrically from the official one), with the moral crisis, with excesses in culture, with the chaos in the economy, with the "petition writers" and "dissidents" and he

advocates the naming of those to blame for all the mistakes in the economy and politics.

Not a single line from the letter has ever been published anywhere. However, this did not prevent a distinguished sociopolitical figure (M.R.) from a picturesque condemnation of Gojko Nikolis, consistent with the established practice: "I feel sorry for anyone who turns in his party membership book, although there is a definite pattern--when the train comes to a curve, the rear cars fall off."

An author cannot defend a letter which has been publicly attacked, but has not been published. Not even KNJIZEVNA REC, whose courage is well known, published Nikolis' response: "The metaphor about the train and the curve really do lack freshness and originality. They have been used in the political (and indeed even physical) liquidation of a pleiade of revolutionaries, those, of course, who did not have the strength or timing to hold convulsively onto the 'last car' (read: bureaucratic tyranny)."

"In our society and in the countries of real socialism the phenomenon of letters which individuals addressed to their leaders is something exotic, something sensational...something which lies outside the framework of normal structural traffic," Gojko Nikolis has said in an interview with MLADOST. The letters are anathemized. They irritate the official structures. This means that they are not willing to solve the social problems as they are seen by the individuals, that is, that there are certain sclerotic places in them through which it is difficult to pass.... The party wants exclusiveness for itself in evaluation of reality.... The failure to respond to those letters, subjecting them to ridicule, that is unconstitutional!

Article 157 of the SFRY Constitution reads as follows:

"A citizen has the right to submit petitions and proposals to the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities and other competent authorities and organizations, to obtain a response to them, and also to undertake political and other initiatives of general interest."

Those who write letters to the highest government and political bodies feel that this article unambiguous. Those to whom they are addressed, judging at least by the condemnations expressed in public, seem to think otherwise. We say "seem," since the authors of this article were unable to talk to anyone in spite of efforts over several weeks except to the chairman of the Commission for Petitions and Grievances of the LCY Central Committee, who announced that they did not even receive "such" letters.

But the public has been reading them. Some people have been asking "where all those revolutionaries were earlier, why are they coming forward only when they have left the highest positions?" It is difficult, however, to escape the impression that such reproaches are unfair.

"Everyone has the right to change his positions, to develop intellectually.... And also the climate in society is different," says Gojko Nikolis.

And there obviously will continue to be letters.

And the pale photocopies will continue to be passed from hand to hand with the caution "that they not be given to everyone." They will be read before the daily papers so as to break up the monotony of the official reports.

Or not only for that reason?

[Box, p 12]

Fifteen Copies

Radisav V. Filipovic is the most characteristic and productive member of a group of letter writers who do not have high-sounding titles and high official positions in their biography.

So far he has sent about 900 letters amounting to over 3,000 typed pages to the highest political forums, bodies, and organizations as well as to distinguished figures.

"My regular 'subscribers' are Aleksandar Grlickov and Mitja Ribicic, and then the members of the State Presidency, the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY Assembly, the veterans' organization....," Filipovic says.

He began his revolutionary career in 1940 when he became a member of SKOJ. He was a participant in the NOB from the very first. At the end of the war he was a battalion political commissar. In 1962 he withdrew from membership in the League of Communists when he was a lieutenant colonel in the YPA. He was promoted to colonel in 1963. He retired in 1966. Since that time he has not ceased his persistent attempts by means of letters to present his opinion and proposals for solving the difficulties that have arisen in society.

"I consider it my communist duty and an activity permitted under the laws now in effect. Up to now I have mainly come up against a wall of silence, not counting the reply from the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP in which they told me that they had forwarded my letter to their commission for petitions and grievances and summoned me for an interview. I refused, since I was not filing a complaint, nor was I seeking a higher pension, a place to live, or anything else for myself. I wanted to talk to the members of the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the SAWP."

Up until 1979 he wrote his letters in 15 copies, and then later he began to make 70-80 photocopies on the average, which in addition to those mentioned he also sent to all the major Yugoslav newspapers. Recently his views have been distinguished by their radicalism, and the style cannot be called diplomatic by any means.

(His letter was found when Radoje Spasic was arrested.) In June 1984 an inquiry was instituted against Radisav V. Filipovic because of warranted suspicion that he committed the crime of hostile propaganda under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, an insult to the prestige of the SFRY under Article 157 of the SFRY Criminal Code and an insult to the prestige of a socialist autonomous province and socialist republic under Article 99 of the Criminal Code of SR Serbia.

These serious legal charges are a logical consequence of the reactions to the "heavy artillery" which Filipovic makes use of in his writings. Namely, he joins labels to the names of Bosko Krunic, Dusan Alimpic, Fadilj Hodza, Jure Bilic, Branko Mikulic, Hamdija Pozderac, and Josip Vrhovec to which no one could remain indifferent.

It is an impressive figure that even these obviously exaggerated views have not brought penalties, since the public prosecutor, after a 5-month investigation, withdrew from further proceedings. He was satisfied with the psychiatrist's finding that the accused Filipovic was "politically irresponsible." That at least is what Filipovic says. He also said that he talked to Ivan Stambolic on two occasions, since the latter acknowledged regularly reading his letters.

"If he tells me that, my letters must be worth something. People think that nothing is achieved by writing, I think that it is better than keeping silent."

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